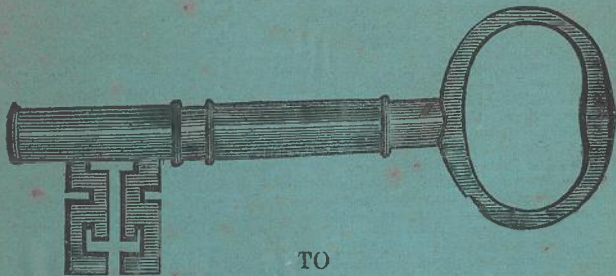


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TO

SALLUST'S CATILINE.

A LITERAL TRANSLATION

BY

HENRY OWGAN, LL.D.

JAMES CORNISH & SONS,

London: 297, High Holborn.

LIVERPOOL: 37, LORD STREET.

DUBLIN: COMBRIDGE & Co., 18, GRAFTON ST.

EDINBURGH: OLIVER & BOYD, and J. THIN.

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SALLUST'S CATILINA.

(THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.)

FROM THE TEXT OF BURNOUF.

Literally Translated

BY

HENRY OWGAN, LL.D.

SIXTEENTH THOUSAND.



LONDON:

JAMES CORNISH & SONS, 297, HIGH HOLBORN, W.C

LIVERPOOL: 37, LORD STREET, AND 42, NORTH JOHN STREET.

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PROLEGOMENA

THE following version of the histories of Sallust has been written in contravention to some popular and long-established prejudices : that which has persuaded Classical Teachers that translations are books of an injurious tendency ; and that which, for some generations past, has regarded Sallust as one of the most elementary of school books.

For the former of these suppositions, some reasonable grounds have, in reality, existed ; the greater proportion of what are called literal translations in general use, being worded in a style of Latinised English, in which the words alone belong to our language, while the idioms and forms of sentences are those of the original Latin or Greek ; in which, therefore, the writers of antiquity can scarcely be said to be *translated*, and by which they have, in many cases, been brought into contempt ; and failing to convey, in most instances—even where the difficulties of a close adherence to the text have been evaded by a free translation—any resemblance to the signification of the original. In this respect, Sallust has suffered more than the generality of ancient classics—the peculiarities of his style, consisting almost throughout of elliptic sentences, being more than usually remote from the idioms of the English language.

The writer of these pages is impressed with the belief that inasmuch as the principal object of all philological investigations is the attainment of an exact transcript of the ancient text, any translation calculated to present correctly the ideas and intentions of the original writer, and to suggest an improvement in the style of language employed in converting into our own tongue the immortal compositions of antiquity, cannot fail to be useful, in some degree, to the Student and the Teacher ; and that, as translations will be used, in defiance of any prohibition, some advantage must be derived from a version, which will, at least, not mislead the reader.

Sallust is one of those, whose position as an author, among the literary characters of antiquity, has been seldom duly understood. He is justly entitled to the designation of the “ Father of Roman history,” having been the first among the Romans who raised that form of composition above the state and condition of annals and chronicles—the first who wrote history philosophically, investigating motives, analysing characters, tracing events and consequences back to their first causes, and drawing aside the curtain from that hidden stage machinery, the exposure of which renders actual fact a matter of secondary interest. In this philosophy he followed and rivalled Thucydides. Equal to his prototype in caution and scepticism, he was, perhaps, superior in the sententious and epigrammatic terseness of his diction.

PROLEGOMENA.

Under these circumstances, it will be readily perceived that the popular practice of making Sallust a subject of study for junior pupils, immediately after learning Latin grammar, is an error in the arrangement of progressive studies.

Were this system open to no objection on principles of common sense, the authority of Quintillian alone should be sufficient argument of its impropriety. In the 2nd Book of his Institutes he says, that Livy is a book much better suited to beginners, and that, even for him some previous information—some progress (*profectus*)—is a necessary preparation. Nor is such a comparison of the two historians less applicable to the case of students to whom the language is foreign, than of those to whom it was vernacular. This error, in addition to being, *per se*, an injustice to Sallust, as far as it leaves upon the student's mind an impression derogatory to the real merits of the author, is also the immediate cause of another no less injurious: the greater proportion of the editions of Sallust in general use—more particularly some of those containing English commentaries—being conceived and written in a style of puerility utterly unworthy of the historian, to the philosophy and elaborate finish of whose writings all critics of antiquity bear repeated and unanimous testimony.

That something more philosophical and literary—something illustrative of what the compositions of Sallust actually are—is required in our Colleges and Schools, is obvious, and to this standard the editions of Planche and Kritz may be said to make the nearest approach. As the present advancing state of classical knowledge and taste requires that students should be supplied with some prefatory and collateral information on the subjects of philology and biography, an attempt has been here made to collect whatever is known and recorded of the historian and his works, into the following review of his life and literary remains.

THE LIFE AND WORKS

OF

C. CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS.

THE Sabine town, Amiternum, was the place rendered memorable by the nativity of this eminent individual, who was born in the year of Rome 668, the 86th before the Christian era, and marked by another equally memorable event, the seventh consulship of Caius Marius. The ambition of distinction, which is admitted by himself to have been the ruling passion of his life, manifested itself, during his early years, in the careful acquisition of all the intellectual accomplishments of his age, among which the study of the Greek classics and oratory—then a science—were the principal. In these studies, he was guided by the instruction of the then celebrated Ateius Prætextatus, surnamed *Philologus* ("the grammarian;") an Athenian, and, almost consequently, a professional *Rhetor*, (or, teacher of oratory,) who was also the præceptor of Asinius Pollio.

It would appear that one of the earliest and longest dreams of his ambition, was the desire to excel in the composition of history; and, with this view, he obtained from Ateius an epitome of the history of Rome, as a guide to his own future treatment of the subject. From this purpose he was, at an early age, diverted by the consideration that, to him, being of plebeian birth, a curule office accompanied with an *ex-officio* seat in the senate, would open the most direct avenue to the distinction which he coveted, and which his education and intellect were calculated to attain. He, therefore, solicited

and obtained the *honor*, as it was technically called, of the quaestorship. The legitimate age at which this dignity was usually conferred was 27; and, on the supposition that he was elected at that age, he must have held office in the consulship of Julius Cæsar and Bibulus, in the fourth year after Catiline's Conspiracy, and U.C. 695. His name did not, however, appear politically conspicuous until the sixth year subsequently, when he was elected a "Tribune of the Commons." At this particular time, the domestic politics of Rome were in a state of considerable excitement and confusion; or, rather, as no civil dissensions had yet agitated the surface of society, in that state of dark and portentous calm, ever prophetic of the storm. The condition of affairs seems to have been precisely this.

Julius Cæsar and Cn. Pompey were both rising to that degree of greatness and extent of power, which eventually made the world too narrow to contain the two. Cæsar was abroad adding province to province, and extending the empire for *—himself*. Pompey was working less conspicuously, but with a similar design, in the city; canvassing indirectly for the dictatorship, the existence of which he ostensibly deprecated, and disseminating among the citizens, by means of numerous agents, various suggestions of a seditious and dissatisfying tendency, all leading to one great inference—"that the several small and interested factions, by which the peace of the community was disquieted, must eventually be suppressed by investing some one individual with sufficient power; and that the Roman citizens could not, at present, be doubtful as to the selection; that, in fact, there was but one man eligible."

To this state of things, we may observe a striking parallel in the European politics of the present time.

But, the time was not yet come; they remembered Sylla, and petty factions still continued, by disquieting and weakening themselves and each other, to afford a pretext, if not to create a necessity, for that comprehensive and absolute despotism, into which they eventually merged.

Now, at this particular crisis (the year of Rome 701), the trial of strength lay between two principal factions, whose leaders were Annii Milo and Clodius (Claudius). Their partisans, consisting for the most part of their own retainers and slaves; and being, like those of the Orsini and Collonna, or of

the Neri and Bianchi, in later times, little inferior, in numbers and discipline, to regular armies, frequently encountered each other, and the streets of Rome became the scene of perpetual riot and bloodshed. The object of each leader was the exclusion of the other from the office which he sought—Milo being then a candidate for the prætorship, and Clodius for a tribuneship—and in this they so effectually succeeded, that the elections were deferred for six months. The death of Clodius, who fell a victim to his own design of assassinating Milo, was the long-expected signal for the outbreak of a popular tumult of unusual atrocity, the particulars of which are detailed by Cicero, in that perfect specimen of special pleading, in which he endeavoured to defend Milo from the consequences of his adversary's fall. These particulars are interesting here, only as far as Sallust was a principal actor in the scene. He, like another Antony, exhibited on the rostra the mangled body of Clodius and harangued the multitude, who were goaded by his eloquence into such a state of excitement, that, removing the body with them to the Curia Hostilia, they burned it on a pyre constructed of the benches and furniture of the senate-house. The building falling amid the conflagration, and drawing with it, in its descent, the Porcian piazza, formed the closing scene of the obsequies of Clodius.

On this memorable occasion, Sallust was seconded by Pompeius Rufus and Munatius Plancus, to whom Cicero alludes in his defence of Milo; and it is supposed that some indirect allusions to Sallust also, are to be discovered in that brilliant speech. The hostility to Milo, which Sallust evinced, may be traced to a discreditable event in the private life of the historian. He is said to have been detected in an intrigue with Milo's wife, Fausta, the daughter of Sylla. The punishment of such offences was, among the ancients, discretionary with the injured party; and, in this case, of unusual severity. The result of these dissensions, however, was unsatisfactory to all parties concerned. Milo was banished; Rufus, Plancus, and Sextus Clodius were impeached, and fined for the demolition of the senate-house; and Sallust, on whom latest of all retribution descended, was degraded from the senate, on a charge of immorality, by the Censors Appius and Piso.—(A.U.C. 704.)

That the history of Cariline's conspiracy was written about

this time, is the general opinion of commentators. The only objection to which this arrangement is liable, is, that the analysis of the characters of Julius Cæsar and Marcus Cato (Catiline, ch. 54), which appears to have been written after the death of both, could not have been yet drawn. To this objection the obvious reply is, that this episode—if it may be so called—was most probably one of the results of the author's *curæ secundæ*, and inserted at some time previous to the publication of those great historical sketches, which did not appear in general circulation until the accession of Augustus. Sallust appears to have felt most acutely the ignominy of his expulsion from the senate, and to have, not inappropriately, given expression to his resentment, in the severity and bitterness of his invective against the state of society in his time (Catil. ch. 3); the object of which appears to have been, to insinuate that he had been punished for offences of which all were guilty. He may, however, have consoled himself with the reflection, that the most guilty individual is seldom that one upon whom are visited either his own misdeeds or those of the community: it is necessary to his being made "a public example," that he should possess a superiority of some kind or degree—such as an intellect, a heart, a high spirit, an abhorrence from the hypocrisy and meanness around him—in order to excite the envy and malice of society; because, though society may excuse the cruelties, the meannesses, and the hypocrisies of ordinary men, they feel it a duty to show no indulgence to the errors and extravagances of the gifted. It is on the same principle—although, at first sight, apparently the result of a different cause—that those faults of generosity and good nature, which are most liable to degenerate into vicious excesses, are, in general, more powerful claims to popularity, than the austere and rigid virtues of the stoic, which are practicable to but few, and with which, therefore, but few can sympathise. Mankind prefer to follow what is only a little in advance, rather than to seek what is altogether out of sight. Still Sallust has shown his magnanimity in writing a history of his own time, with the most rigid impartiality: a history, too, of events which passed under his own observation, and in which some personal feelings must necessarily have been involved; but, throughout the entire narrative we do not discover a single personal reflection. Even to Cicero,

to whom he certainly should feel no obligations of a complimentary nature, he awards his due praise for his pacific suppression of the insurrection. He has been, it is true, called to account by some commentators, for not being sufficiently liberal of eulogy; but he may, very naturally and with many others, have supposed that a man who praised himself so abundantly, must require the less commendation from others.

The important events of the year U.C. 705 summoned him again from his retirement. The war, now long kindling, at length blazed forth between Cæsar and Pompey; and the submission of all Italy to the former, within about two months after the commencement of hostilities, induced Sallust to expect that the supremacy of the democratic party—for such they considered themselves—to which he was attached, and which regarded Cæsar as their champion, would create for him some opportunity of elevation. On this occasion he is supposed to have addressed to Cæsar the first of his two letters "On the Reformation of the State" (*de Republicâ ordinandâ*), the authenticity of which has been long since established. In this letter, the tone of which is rather more adulatory than one would probably expect from Sallust, he offers certain suggestions respecting the treatment of the commons, the aristocracy, and the senate. In the first instance, he recommends an increase in the number of free citizens, and the planting of additional colonies, consisting promiscuously of old and new citizens—a measure which would have made Cæsar absolute master of the whole plebeian order. In the second place, he denounces the system of an aristocracy of wealth; and on the principle adopted by Solon, attributes to its ascendancy over merit all the evils of political abuses, with a stoicism of sentiment, which, for sake of consistency, one would regret that he did not, under the influence of temptation, practically exhibit. And, with respect to the senate, he suggests an extension of their numbers also—and, consequently, the creation of a Cæsarian party—with the institution of vote by ballot, as a security for greater freedom and liberty of conscience in their deliberations.

His anticipations of promotion were so far realised, as the quaestorship again qualified him for admission into the senate. After his election to this office, and while Cæsar

was engaged in the blockade of Alexandria, he addressed to him his second letter on the same subject; the intention of which is, after congratulating him on his civic victory, to recommend moderation in the use of it, and the reformation of Roman society, by discouraging usury and the prevailing venality of the times; and, once more, to urge the necessity of suppressing the predominance of wealth, as tending to subvert the proper and natural supremacy of mind over matter.

On the return of Cæsar to Rome, in 707, Sallust was elected a Prætor; and soon after married Terentia, who had been, a short time previously, divorced by Cicero, under pretexts, of course, unconnected with his real motive, which was, simply, to have an opportunity of marrying a younger woman, with a larger fortune. This union of Sallust and Terentia is one for which it would appear difficult to account—on her part, because of the old and enduring enmity between Sallust and Cicero; and on his, because she was the sister of Fabia (the Vestal), whose name he mentions discreditably in connexion with that of Catiline—if we did not take into consideration that she, feeling herself wronged by Cicero, would naturally be disposed to unite herself to one who could sympathise with her feelings towards him; and again, it is probable—indeed the fact would go far to prove—that the history of the conspiracy, though not yet published, had been already written.

Sallust was now called upon to interfere actively in the war. Hostilities had been resumed in Africa by the aristocratic party under Cato and Scipio, aided by Juba of Mauritania; and, in order to crush this remnant of the adverse faction, Cæsar entrusted Sallust with the command of some troops, to be marched through Capua, and embarked for the scene of action. Those legions, however, deeming their past services sufficient to entitle them, thenceforth, to repose, broke out into a mutiny; and, in defiance of the delegated authority of the Prætor, returned to Rome, where they were recalled to their allegiance by Cæsar, who adopted, for the purpose, the simple and masterly expedient of addressing them as "*Quirites*," and not, according to his general practice, as "*Commilitones*." The troops, accordingly, proceeded without delay on their voyage to Africa: and Sallust, with part of

the fleet, was sent to Cercina, to take in corn, of which that island was a considerable depôt. The execution of this commission would seem to be an undertaking as difficult as it was arbitrary; but Julius Cæsar was one of those men with whom "impossible" is an unrecognised word, and the enterprise eventually proved more successful than had been anticipated. On the approach of Sallust, the island was virtually surrendered, by the precipitate departure of Decimius, to whom the care of the stores had been committed. The ships took in cargoes, and proceeded to the camp in Africa.

On the conclusion of the war and the reduction of Africa, Sallust was appointed governor (*Proprætor*) by Cæsar; and, in discharge of the duties of this high authority, he is said to have proved the insincerity of those declamations in favour of austere morality and stoicism which his writings contain. One of his detractors (Lenaus, a retainer of Pompey) ventures even to assert, that he left in the province scarcely anything moveable—an imputation which is, unfortunately, confirmed by the authority of Dion Cassius, and by the circumstance of his having been, on the expiration of his office, impeached by the Numidians before Cæsar. Whether innocent or guilty, his acquittal was a matter of course; and it was even suspected in Rome that the judge and the defendant shared the spoil between them. Offences of this nature were, at that time, so general as to be comparatively unnoticed, and very seldom punished; but, in this instance the imputation appears to have been attended with an unusual degree of obloquy, in consequence of the inconsistency of such acts with his written opinions. But, like many other men, of similar idiosyncrasy, he appears to have been treated with undue severity. He seems, in fact, to have been one of those who err rather through vanity and ambition, than from any innate meanness or depravity—who, if once wronged by society and wounded in feeling, will, in a spirit of morbid opposition and self-torturing pride, assume the appearance of being worse than they really are.

In addition to this, from the evidences of an ambitious spirit deducible from his own admissions, it would result as a natural inference, that the acquisition of wealth, being the eternal idol of human adoration, was originally regarded

by him rather as a means, than an end; and that, having retired from public life, when he had proceeded but half way to that end; that which was, theretofore, but an instrument, became with him, thenceforth, a final object and consummation.

On the assassination of Cæsar (15th of March, A.U.C. 710), Sallust, shrinking from the political storm likely to ensue, and seeing no clear or definite way through the inextricable confusion by which he was surrounded, withdrew for ever from political life, into the tranquillity necessary to success in literary pursuits, and is believed to have then put into execution a design, previously conceived, of writing a history of the Jugurthine war, the most interesting and elaborate of his works. It appears, that while in Africa, the collection of materials for such a history engaged his most diligent care and research, and that nothing available, in the way of antiquarian or topographical information collateral with the subject, was neglected. This information was drawn principally from those ancient records in the Phœnician language (*libri Punico*) which had been collected by King Hiempsal II.; and Petrarch gives him credit for having acquired, for the purpose, a knowledge even of the Punic language.

When compared with the history of Catiline's conspiracy, that of the Jugurthine war appears to considerable advantage. In the former, we have but one scene of action, and little change or diversity of characters; while, in the latter, the reader is presented with an alternation of scene and incident between Rome and Africa, the turbulence of popular assemblies, and the varied and exciting events of a guerilla campaign. In it, also, the two most remarkable characters of the age, Marius and Sylla, make their first public appearance. To this period of his life is likewise attributed the composition of another historical work, entitled, "*Historia rerum in Republicâ Romanâ gestarum*," intended to account for the interval of 45 years, separating the other two, and marked by some of the most noticeable events in Roman history: the Cimbric, Social, and Pontic wars, and the sanguinary dissensions of Sylla and Marius. Of this intermediate history, extending from the close of the Jugurthine war (in A.U.C. 647) to the detection of Catiline's conspiracy (in A.U.C. 692), fragments alone remain, consisting of some unmutiated letters

and speeches. With the assistance of these reliques, M. De Brosses, the most successful of commentators on Sallust, has compiled a history of the seventh century of Rome. Did we but possess Sallust's account of these interesting events, particularly his philosophic narrative of the excesses, intrigues, and atrocities of the first great civil war in Rome, the entire would constitute one of the most perfect and instructive pieces of historic writing ever bestowed by genius on posterity. Among other incidents, his description of the banquet, attended by Mæcenas, Tarquinius, Versius, Antonius, and Fabius, at which Sertorius was assassinated by the host Perpenna, would be a literary relique of peculiar value.

It is calculated by some, that this lost history would have come down to about A.U.C. 688, when Pompey was appointed, by the Manilian bill, to the command of the Mithridatic war, including, of course, that with the Silician Pirates, commonly called the Maritime, and would thus have treated of the events of forty-one years. The extreme dates, according to the most extensive calculation, are stated, for the entire series, to be A.U.C. 636, and 692.

For the preservation of even these isolated passages which we now possess, we are indebted to Pomponius (Atticus), who preserved them from a MS. containing the two complete histories.

An outline of the occurrences of these intervening years, is affixed to some editions of Sallust, by the hand of Julius Exsuperantius, a grammarian of the sixth century. Of this work, obviously intended to present a *cento* of the diction of Sallust, the style is, in many instances, impure, and the statements on several historical points, incorrect.

The remaining years of his life were spent by Sallust in his magnificent residence on the Quirinal hill, devoted to literary recreations, and the arrangement of that celebrated park (*Horti Sallustiani*), which was, in after years, considered worthy of the possession of the emperors, and was, for centuries, the repository of many curious and costly monuments of ancient art. His villa at Tibur, too, once the retreat of Julius Cæsar, is said to have been appointed in a style of splendour little inferior to his mansion in the city. These facts, together with the loss, in early life, of all hereditary possessions, would

tend to prove, that his administration of the government of Africa could not have been altogether disinterested. Such, at least, is the inference drawn in the bitter and censorious invective generally attributed to Cicero.

Sallust died at the early age of 50 (A.U.C. 718), transmitting to posterity a name ever respectable in literature, as long as the Latin language continues to be read; but sullied by those imputations of immorality and political dishonesty, by which, either true or false, it has been overcast, and which, as those literary legacies bequeathed to posterity, are meritorious, and, as he comes under our consideration merely as a literary character, it would be charitable, if not to doubt, at least to extenuate. It is, at all events, in some degree creditable, that, in the excitement of youth, passion, ambition, and indigence, he was not found among the associates of Catiline. His property and name he bequeathed to his sister's grandson, who is said to have been a favourite of Augustus, and to whom Horace addressed the Second Ode of the Second Book. It is recorded of him, that being of the Equestrian order, he declined, like Mæcenas, any elevation to the higher class of nobility.

Terentia survived Sallust, and became the wife of Messala Corvinus (the orator), having been thus, successively, united to the three most distinguished men of her time. She eventually outlived even a fourth husband, Vibius Rufus, and at length died at the extraordinary age of 117 years.

The peculiarities of style and conception, which characterise the compositions of Sallust, as they have been largely discussed by Rollin and La Harpe, naturally require some notice. That he was, in style and thought, a follower of Thucydides, as Livy adopted the more diffuse and episodic diction of Herodotus, it is almost superfluous to state. Seneca says that he has even exceeded his model in the brevity and epigrammatic turn of his expressions, and opinions to the same effect are recorded by Aulus Gellius, Macrobius, and Jul. Cæsar Scaliger. This conciseness of expression, so agreeable to cultivated ears, is believed by some critics to have been followed too far; but is amply compensated by the clearness and precise arrangement of the ideas. He invariably takes, in the first place, his logical position, and in the succeeding sentences, he proceeds to the illustration

of his original statement; frequently, too, in order to be more intelligible, he places the same idea in different lights and points of view. This syllogistic form of discussion appears no where so prominently as in those introductory chapters, by which each of the histories is prefaced. It is, perhaps, principally and only in the written speeches, with which the narratives—like those of Thucydides, Xenophon, and other succeeding writers of antiquity—are diversified, that this brevity of diction appears to disadvantage: they are, it is true, models of composition, but require that diffuseness and periphrasis, so necessary to the full effect of a spoken discourse, and which tell so powerfully in those of Cicero. The characteristics of the style of language and mode of thought, which distinguish the writings of Thucydides, and which were the result of his own unsuggered perception of propriety, are, in the first instance, the insertion of political speeches, designed to intimate to the reader the real and secret motives and designs, of which visible and ostensible events and measures were the result: secondly, the introduction of such detailed and poetically descriptive narratives of battles, sieges, journeys, and other occurrences and adventures, as were calculated to invest a history of those times and places with a peculiar degree of interest, and would be, in a historic composition (properly so called) of our time, neither appropriate nor attractive: and lastly, a more ambitious and decorated style of diction than had been, ever previously, attempted in prose; in which, however, are perceptible some occasional vestiges of harshness and inequality, suggesting that the entire work had been the first specimen of its peculiar kind; and probably, the author, regarding his performance as a historical tragedy—for such it really is—conceived a bold, poetical, and, at the same time, an imperfectly refined form of language, the most suited to recount the disastrous consequences to his country, of the long and fatal struggle between “Greek and Greek,” which he had undertaken to depict. These features, so widely different from those of the simple, artless, gossiping narrative of Herodotus—the historic Homer—are they, which it was the ambition of Sallust to appropriate; and which, too closely followed, have, to some extent, marred the effect of his natural genius. The language of all the

orators of antiquity was elaborate, and the result of preparation; but those orations perpetuated by Sallust exhibit so much of this character, as to be rather essays upon their respective subjects, than speeches. This is more especially the style of those which occur in the fragments, and to such a degree as to make them appear altogether unsuited to a promiscuous audience. The best speeches, and the least chargeable with this defect, are those attributed to Memmius and Marius. It should be observed, however, that these addresses are not given as the precise words of the several speakers, being introduced with the phrase "*hujusmodi*" ("to the following effect"), with, perhaps, the single exception of that of Memmius, whose speech Sallust professes *perscribere* (as we would say, "to report"), though the prevalence of Sallustian phrases would seem to suggest, that it had been composed similarly to the others. One other peculiarity remains to be considered: his imputed affectation of antiquity, manifested in the use of those obsolete words, and forms of words, which Petrarch terms "*superstitiosa verba.*" Now, as far as the forms of words are concerned, the instances in which the orthography of Sallust appears to differ from that of his age, are such words as *advorsus*, *vortex*, *volgus*, *maximus*, *omnis*, (for *omnes*, both being contractions of the older form *omnises*), *lubido*, *caussa*, *paullatim*, &c. And in these, and such cases, he will be acquitted of singularity or affectation; if it be taken into account, that in the oldest copies of Cicero, and even of Virgil, these words appear written on precisely the same principle: and have been, in subsequent editions, altered to a more modern form. Wagner, indeed, in his edition of Heyne's Virgil, has, in most cases, restored the original forms. The obvious inference then is, that the only singularity, exclusive of that affecting the shape of his sentences, in the text of Sallust is, that it has not been subjected to the same modification which others have undergone. It is also a fact, however strange it may appear at first sight, that the oldest copies of Sallust in MS. present a nearer approach to modern forms than those of some cotemporary and subsequent authors. On this subject Suetonius says that Ateius discouraged this species of affectation, in his instructions both to Sallust and Asinius Pollio; and it is also an interesting fact respecting these antique forms,

that, in such words as *vortex*, *advorsus*, &c., the *e* was first substituted for *u* and *o* by Scipio Africanus, who is said to have, in like manner, Latinized the Greek term *schaenobates* into *funambulus*.

In the old MS. fragment discovered by Douza, and given by him to Muratori, who has published a facsimile in his *Inscriptionum Thesaurus*, we find the termination *bus* of the dative plural elided; the final *m* and *n* also omitted, as *pugnâ*-, *tamè*-, *quicqu*-, &c., as also the final vowels of the enclitic *que*: the participle *nactus* is also written *nanctus*, its original form; and the diphthongs open, as *ae*, *oe*, &c. Of the speeches above alluded to, with which Sallust has, like all other historians of antiquity, diversified his narrative, there are two, which, from the opposite characters and sentiments of the speakers, seem entitled to a particular notice. These are the addresses of Julius Cæsar and Cato (Uticensis), on the question of the punishment of the conspirators, which are further illustrated in a succeeding chapter which contains portraits of the two men. It may be observed that this delineation of the characters of these two remarkable persons is one of those analytical studies in which Sallust so frequently indulges, and forms an epitome of the inferences deducible from an examination of their speeches. The virtues of Cato are shown to be such as could not with equal advantage be brought to bear upon the usual business of life. They would be less charitable, and therefore less popular, in every-day use, than those ascribed to Cæsar.

Cæsar's speech is—contrary to what may at first be expected—the more temperate and argumentative; that of Cato, the more impassioned and abrupt; and, in the tendency of his arguments, as well as in the subsequent sketch of his character, Cæsar is made to appear the more amiable of the two. His arguments against capital punishment are briefly these:—Setting out with an allusion to the effects of passion upon reason, he argues against the motion of Silanus, by adducing, in the *first* instance, the example of the most glorious days of the republic when mere retaliation was beneath the dignity of the Roman senate. His *second* argument is rather a sophism, wherein the very enormity of guilt is made a pretext for clemency. In the *third* place, he warns the house that they have not the same liberty to act under the

influence of excited feelings which an obscure and less responsible individual might enjoy ; and strengthens his position by a dilemma, which is his *fourth* argument, thus—The motive of Silanus in voting for capital punishment was either fear or resentment : fear is groundless in consequence of our defences ; and resentment, to be consistent, should have taken a different direction ; because death is no punishment. The *fifth* argument is also a dilemma : thus—you have omitted to recommend scourging as well as death, (though they are forbidden by the same law,) either because it is more, or, because it is less severe : it cannot be for the former reason, because retribution cannot be called severity ; nor, again, for the latter, because you would then overlook the more important, and respect the more trivial enactment. The *sixth* argument, which he regards as the most powerful, is based upon the imprudence of establishing a precedent, which may be eventually made to sanction a public wrong.

In reply to these, Cato begins, like Demosthenes, to remind his hearers of the difference between facts and speeches ; and, as he proceeds, speaks less to the reason, and more to the passions of his audience, addressing himself to those very feelings and propensities which he condemns ; and which, he observes, can be indulged only in security. Without replying *seriatim* to Cæsar's arguments, he attempts a refutation of three of them. Cæsar's opinion respecting a future state he insinuates to be scepticism ; and to his assertion, that fear was groundless, replies by a dilemma : Cæsar either does or does not fear ; if he does, his proposition is inconsistent with his feelings ; and, if he does not, *we* should. He then corrects Cæsar's view of the difference between their own and former ages of the republic ; and concludes, as he commenced, by representing the case to be one to which no theory or experiment could be applied. It is, altogether, a considerably less argumentative address than Cæsar's.

It is stated by Plutarch, in his life of Cato, that Cicero brought reporters into the house on the occasion of this debate, and it is supposed that Sallust may possibly have gained access to their notes. It is asserted, however, that the discussion was opened by Lutatius Catulus, the omission of whose speech may perhaps be accounted for by the circumstances alluded to in chap. 49 of the history.

After the example of Isocrates and Gorgias Leontinus, Sallust, as Quintilian says,—*nil ad historiam quam scribebat pertinentibus principis orsus est*—"commences with an introduction unconnected with the history in question." The object of this, in each case, is to specify the motives which led him to literary pursuits, in the first instance; and more particularly to the composition of history. These views he maintains by arguments, which, as they are seldom understood or investigated, it is, perhaps, advisable to analyse: and these arguments are contained in the four prefatory chapters of each history. In those which form the preface to the Catiline, he sets out with these three axioms: in the first place, "that it is the duty of all men, who aspire to a pre-eminence above the other animals of the creation, to exert their utmost energies that they may not pass by unnoticed through life." Secondly, "that all our faculties are seated in the mind and body." And thirdly, "that we employ the mind rather as the predominant portion, and the body as the subordinate." This he further illustrates by observing that "our intellectual faculties are those which we possess in common with superior beings, while physical power belongs equally to inferior animals." "Wherefore" (*quo*), he says—that is, in consequence of the mental faculties being of the higher order—"it appears to him more rational (*rectius*) to acquire distinction by the former than the latter, and as our actual and material existence is transitory, to perpetuate our names as far forward as possible. Another reason is, that the renown so acquired is naturally calculated to survive any other; as he says, "the *prestige* (*gloria*) of wealth and physical advantages is short-lived and perishable, (*fluxa atq. fragilis*), that is, transitory, in any case; and liable to the influence of destructive accidents, while moral power (*virtus*, i. e. mental superiority) is brilliant and imperishable."

But (*sed*, that is, notwithstanding this superiority of mind over matter,) there was maintained a long controversy among men; whether success in war were the result of intellectual or physical superiority, because (*nam*, the ground of this controversy was) that, previous deliberation—the work of the mind—was necessary in the first place; and, after due premeditation, energy of action—the employment of physical power—was required; and because in this way.

or degree (*utque*), each faculty required the co-operation of the other.

CHAPTER 2.—“Therefore, (*igitur*, that is, because of the existence of this controversy,) at first, (in the beginning of the history of man,) kings—such being the earliest denomination (*nomen*) of power on earth—acting on opposite principles, exerted, some of them the intellectual, and others the physical powers; and, down to that period, (*et jam tum*, that is, before the time of kings; or, of Cyrus, whom he specifies as the earliest of authentic history, suspecting the traditions respecting Belus and Ninus to be rather apocryphal,) human life passed away unvexed by ambition,” and therefore the question could not be decided. But when Cyrus and the Spartans and Athenians began to reduce districts and cities to their power, and to feel the lust (*libidinem*) of power, as a motive for war; then, and not till then, (*tum demum*,) it was ascertained by experience and matter of fact, (*periculo atque negotiis*,) that the mind was the superior influence in war.”

Having, so far, established the predominance of the mind, he proceeds to consider its influence on diplomacy, in which, also, he maintains that knowledge is power; and that, “were the mental energies as fully exerted in peace as in war, the interests and state of mankind would be more uniform and permanent; because supremacy can be easily maintained by the same influences whereby it had been originally acquired.” The remaining sentences of this chapter contain an illustration of the principle that the decline of political establishments is, in all cases, attributable to the indulgence of the animal passions, and the proportionate degradation of the divine portion of our being. His words are, “But when instead of energy, apathy; instead of abstinence and clemency, sensuality and oppression intrude themselves; external circumstances undergo a change corresponding to that of moral discipline:” and hence result the alternations of political prosperity; as “power ever passes from the unworthy possessor to one more deserving.” And this is an effect of that same

“—power of thought, the magic of the mind,”

inasmuch as, “the lands (*quæ homines arant*), the seas (*quæ navigant*), and cities (*quæ ædificant*), all constitute the dominion of moral power (*virtuti*).

The inference from all this is, that the existence of those men who are slaves of their animal propensities alone, must be regarded as a sort of moral death. This same idea is expressed by Persius, in the memorable maxim, "*dignus morte perit*" (the unworthy to live is virtually dead). On the contrary, Sallust says, "that man in reality appears to me to live and enjoy the pleasures of existence, who, devoting himself to some active occupation, aims at the reputation either of a glorious deed or a useful profession. But, (*sed*, that is, he would not be understood to restrict or specify, because) in the great variety of pursuits, his idiosyncrasy (*natura*, i. e. his natural disposition) suggests to each a different course."

CHAPTER 3.—Having argued, thus far, for the aristocracy of intellect, and illustrated the obligation under which every rational being is placed, to cultivate its powers; he henceforward addresses himself to the reasons why, of all intellectual pursuits, he prefers that of a historian, the adequate discharge of whose duty constitutes a national benefaction. His words are, "To do the state a service is creditable; even to speak for its benefit is no contemptible achievement;" in other words, "it is possible to acquire distinction, either in peace or war." And though the latter be the means more immediately effectual; still, considerable difficulty—as Thucydides also observes, (ii. 35)—and consequently merit, attends the labours of a historian. This difficulty presents itself in three forms. In the first place, that which is inherent in the undertaking itself: that of delineating great events and characters as they were. Secondly, that resulting from prejudice; because men will believe that censures are dictated by malice and envy. And, thirdly, that created by incredulity; as every man limits his belief to the extent of his personal experience. "When you record the high merit and renown of illustrious men, every reader patiently assents to whatever he deems practicable to himself: beyond that, he considers your assertions false, as being your invention." He next proceeds to inform the reader that the path by which he, at first, pursued distinction, was that of an active interference in politics; and that his disappointment in this, occasioned by the general depravity and selfishness of society, threw him back upon the resources of his own mind; the consequence of which was the production of the history, which he then proceeds to relate. His own account of his

feelings on the occasion, is this :—" But, in **my youth**, I, like the generality of men, was at first impelled by an enthusiasm to a public life ; and there I found myself under many difficulties ; because, in place of humility, of conscientiousness, of honour ; assurance, corruption, and cupidity were rife ; which, though my mind, unversed in dishonourable practices, held in scorn ; still, surrounded by such enormity of guilt, my unsteady youth, seduced by its ambition, was ensnared ; and, although shrinking from the vicious principles of the rest, yet, the same longing for distinction which they felt, disquieted me ; the same obloquy and odium which they incurred assailed me." [Several terms here are not (what is called) *literally* translated ; but are converted into the analagous English phrases, which is the more effectual mode of conveying the precise meaning of the original.]

CHAPTER 4.—"Therefore, (*igitur*, that is, in consequence of the unfortunate result of his political career,) when my mind became tranquil, after many anxieties and dangers, and I resolved to spend the remainder of my life in cessation from politics, it was not my intention to waste valuable time in apathy and indolence (idleness of mind and body) ; nor to spend my life in agriculture and hunting ; mere animal occupations (*servilibus*, in allusion to *corporis servitio*, above) ; but, returning to that purpose from the prosecution of which my fatal ambition had diverted me, I resolved to write out (*perscribere*) the history of the Roman people, in select and isolated portions (*carptim*), as they severally seemed worthy of record ; especially as my mind was now uninfluenced by hope, fear, and political factions. I shall accordingly dispose, concisely and with what candour I can command, of the conspiracy of Catiline ; for that enterprise I regard as particularly memorable, from the singularity of its atrocity and danger."

Of the Jugurthine War, the four introductory chapters are of precisely the same tendency, and present nearly the same line of argument, as those of the other history ; showing that the complaints of men respecting the shortness of human life, and the weakness of human nature, are groundless ; because man is endowed with sufficient power, if exerted, to maintain his proper and elevated position in the scale of being ; and, because the average duration of human life affords sufficient time for the due exercise of that power ; and, that the mind,

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being properly the predominant portion of our being, presents us with the most appropriate means of attaining that elevation. There, as in the former instance, he details the circumstances and feelings which led him to a preference of history as the most desirable, and (to him) most suitable department of rational and intellectual employment.

To follow his argument more minutely—he says, in refutation of this complaint of the transitory and helpless nature of man, that, “on reflection, one can find nothing higher or more excellent; and that, perseverance or energy (*industriam*) is the quality in which our nature is deficient, rather than physical power or duration.”

“But it is the mind (and not, as they assert, ‘accident’—*fors*—rather than their merits) that guides and controls the fates of men; which, when it pursues distinction by the path of merit, is sufficiently powerful and active, (that is, actively and passively strong, *potens* and *pollens*,) and is independent of accident, which has no power, &c. When this is degraded by a subservience to animal indulgences, the weakness of humanity is charged with the consequence: they who are themselves in fault (*auctores*), lay the blame upon external circumstances (*negotia*); whereas (*quod*), if men would feel an interest in worthy objects, proportionate to the earnestness with which they pursue the unprofitable and the dangerous, they would not be controlled by circumstances, and would attain that elevation where they would become in reputation as immortal as it is possible for mortals to be (*pro mortalibus*).”

CHAPTER 2.—Because, (*nam*, here follows the reason why they might become so,) as our nature consists of two parts, all our acts partake of the character of one or other; those gifts, faculties, and possessions which are of a material nature are perishable; “but the glorious works of the intellect are, like the soul, immortal.” Presenting the same idea in another form, he says: “In a word, of all material and adventitious benefits there comes as well an end as a beginning: the increase of all things sinks into decay, while the mind, unfading and undying—the lord of human nature—controls and sways all, and is itself subordinate to none.”

The idea is still more powerfully embodied in verse by Addison:—

"The soul, secured in her existence, smiles
 At the drawn dagger, and defies its point.
 The stars shall fade away; the sun himself
 Grow dim with age, and nature sink in years;
 But, *thou* shalt flourish in immortal youth,
 Unhurt, amidst the war of elements,
 The wreck of matter, and the crash of worlds."

CHAPTER 3.—This and the following chapters contain his reasons for choosing a literary in preference to a political life.

"For civil and military commissions, in short all connection with political concerns, appear to me far from desirable at this particular time; since, neither is honour awarded to merit, nor do they who attain power by intrigue enjoy security or proportionate respect; for, to govern one's country by force, is, as in the case of one's parents, invidious; though one may possess the power and may even reform abuses." This argument is resolvable into a dilemma; thus, public office and authority are acquired either by craft or force: if by craft, the possessors are neither safe nor respected; and if by force, the exercise of that authority is invidious: (those cases are excepted where men are either unsuccessful or slaves of the aristocracy:) and therefore such a position is, in any case, not desirable. Here four classes of aspirants to political power are specified—Those who cut their way by force; who win it by craft; who crawl upward under the patronage of their predecessors; and they who never rise at all. Of these, the two first classes only are alluded to in the logical dilemma. It may be observed that Sallust is supposed to allude here to Sylla or to Julius Cæsar, or both; and that the reference to the latter is a little softened by the words, "*et delicta corrigas.*" The remarks, however, appear sufficiently general, though, of course, applicable to the two individuals named; but, in any case they were the only two Romans who had yet entitled themselves to the allusion.

CHAPTER 4.—This chapter is exclusively devoted to the eulogy of history as a study, principally, of course, on the ground of its utility. Sallust, however, takes an opportunity of guarding against the probable misconception that his retirement was the result of his having been an unsuccessful candidate for promotion. "If," he says, "they would take into consideration the circumstances of the time when I obtained office, and what eminent men failed to attain the same, they

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will, undoubtedly, arrive at the conclusion, that it was rather for sufficient reasons, than through indolence, that I changed my purpose." The great utility of history he considers to be, the effect of great and glorious examples on the minds of posterity, which he illustrates by comparing it to the influence on the imagination of the busts and portraits of memorable men. "For," he says, "I have frequently heard that Q. Maximus (Fabius) and P. Scipio (Africanus), and other illustrious individuals of our country, used to say that, when they looked upon the effigies of men of other days their ambition for excellence was kindled: of course it was not that the wax or its form had any such intrinsic power; but that, while recalling glorious deeds, that fire blazed in the breasts of distinguished men, and could not be allayed until their own merit rivalled the reputation and renown of the others." But his generation, he observes parenthetically, does not, unfortunately, present any such models for awakening the emulation of posterity, because, "who, in the present state of morals, (*his moribus*,) is there, that does not rival his ancestors, rather in wealth and magnificence, than in purity of life and energy of action: even *parvenus*, who, in other times, used to take precedence of the aristocracy through merit, raise themselves now to military and civil promotion by secret and fraudulent means; as if the prætorship and consulship, and other honours of this nature, were intrinsically splendid and imposing, and should not be estimated by the merit of the possessors. But I have been led on too freely and too far by my sorrow and impatience for the public morals."

It will appear from this analysis that in each instance Sallust's argument is this: The faculties of the mind are of a higher order than those of the body; and are, consequently, those by which intellectual beings should seek to acquire pre-eminence; and this being established, the next consideration is, to which of the many intellectual occupations open to the aspirant to posthumous renown, he should preferably devote himself; which he decides by the adoption of historic composition, as being, notwithstanding its difficulties and liability to misconception, the safest and most enduring.

The impartiality of Sallust, and his suppression of all personal feelings with reference to personages appearing in his narrative, with the exception, perhaps, of some slight reserve

respecting Cicero, who was regarded with jealousy by the Cæsars, having been already alluded to, it may not be uninteresting to append a translation of some observations on this subject, made by Lucian, in his Essay on the Composition of History. He says: "But chiefly, and above all, he should be independent in mind, and neither flatter any, nor hope for anything.....The sole business of a historian, then, is to record events as they occurred; and this he cannot effect so long as he fears Artaxerxes, if he be his physician; or expects to receive a purple turban, or a gold chain, or a Nisæan steed, as the price of his historic flattery. Xenophon, a conscientious historian, would not act thus, nor Thucydides; but should he even, as an individual, hate any, he will regard the public interest as more important, and value truth more than his personal aversion—should he ever feel partiality, he will, however, not spare an offender. This, as I observed, is the peculiar province of history; and whoever undertakes historic composition must make truth the sole object of his worship; and all else he must disregard. There is, in fact, one standard—one definite law: to regard not the audience of the present day, but those who will hereafter become acquainted with one's writings."

CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

1. It is the duty of all men who are ambitious to excel the other animals, to exert their utmost energies, that they may not pass through life in obscurity, like brutes, which Nature has formed of downward aspect and enslaved to appetite. But all our faculties dwell in mind and body : we employ rather an ascendancy of the mind and a subservience of the body. The one we possess in common with Gods ; the other with brutes. For which reason it appears to me more rational to acquire distinction by the powers of the mind than of physical strength ; and since the material existence which we enjoy is short, to render our memories as enduring as possible. For the pride of wealth and beauty is transitory and perishable : moral power is a brilliant and immortal possession. Still, a discussion was long maintained among men : whether military enterprise derived the more success from physical power or the energies of the mind. Because, both deliberation, before one can make a beginning ; and, after one takes counsel, prompt execution, are necessary. In this way, each, defective in itself, requires the co-operation of the other.

2. At first, therefore, kings (for such was the earliest denomination of authority on earth), adopting opposite views, exerted, some the intellect, others the body ; and down to that time human life passed away unvexed by ambition : his present condition fully satisfied each. But, after Cyrus in Asia, and the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in Greece, began to subjugate cities and countries ; to feel the lust of power as a motive for war ; to estimate the highest distinction in the widest supremacy ; then only was it ascertained that the intellect was the ascendant power in war. So that, if the mental energies of kings and governors were as influential in

peace as in war, the condition of man would be more uniform and permanent; nor would one witness the successive transfer of interests, and the change and derangement of all things; because power is easily retained by the same means by which it has been originally acquired. But when, in place of energy, apathy—instead of moderation and clemency, sensuality and oppression have intruded themselves, external circumstances deteriorate with discipline. In this way, power always passes to the most competent from the less worthy possessor. Whatever men produce by agriculture, navigation, and architecture, all constitute the dominion of intellectual power. Many human beings, however, resigning themselves to animal appetite and indolence, uninstructed and unrefined, pass through life like wanderers in strange lands, to whom—(by an obvious perversion of Nature)—the body is an enjoyment, and the soul an incumbrance. Of such I look upon the life and death as indifferent; for silence is the fate of both. But, he alone appears to me really to live and enjoy existence, who, devoting himself to some occupation, aims at the reputation of a glorious deed or useful profession. However, in the great variety of pursuits, his natural disposition suggests a different course to each.

3. To serve the state actively is creditable; even to speak for its benefit is not contemptible; it is possible to become eminent either in peace or war; and many are praised both for having performed, and for having recorded the achievements of others; and, although a reputation far from equal attends the recorder and the achiever of exploits, the composition of history appears to me a matter of peculiar difficulty: in the first place, because deeds must be adequately represented by words; in the next, because most persons believe that whatever failings one censures, are mentioned through malice and jealousy; and, when one records the great merit and renown of worthy characters, every one admits without contradiction what he deems practicable to himself—all beyond that, he considers false, as if it were a fiction. Now I, in my youth, was, like the generality, impelled by enthusiasm to public life; and there many circumstances were unfavourable to me; because, instead of humility, moderation, and honour, assurance, venality, and rapacity were vigorous—which, although my mind, inex-

perienced in dishonourable practices, held in scorn; still, my unsteady youth, seduced by its ambition, was ensnared amid such enormity of guilt: and, though I might shrink from the vicious principles of the rest, yet the same longing after distinction, the same obloquy and jealousy which disquieted others, troubled me too.

4. So that, when my mind gained repose after many sufferings and dangers, and I resolved to spend the rest of my life in retirement from politics, it was not my intention to waste valuable time in apathy and idleness, nor of course to pass my life in agriculture and hunting—animal occupations—but, returning to the same pursuit from which my fatal ambition had diverted me, I resolved to write a detailed account of the acts of the Roman people in isolated portions, as they severally appeared worthy of record: and more willingly, as my mind was now uninfluenced by hope, fear, and political factions. I shall, accordingly, briefly dispose of the conspiracy of Catiline, as candidly as I may be able: for I consider that deed particularly memorable, from the unusual magnitude of the guilt and danger. Concerning the character of this man, a brief recapitulation is necessary before I can begin my narrative.

5. Lucius Catiline, the descendant of a noble family, possessed considerable powers of mind and body, but a disposition naturally and habitually depraved. Civil war, murder, peculation, and social dissension were congenial to him from his early years, and in these he disciplined his youth. His physical constitution was proof against hunger, want of rest, and cold, to a degree incredible to any. His mind was fearless, crafty, versatile, capable of any extent of affectation or dissimulation; covetous of what he did not, lavish of what he did possess; of considerable power of language, but weak judgment. His insatiable ambition ever longed for the extravagant, the improbable, and the romantic. Since the usurpation of Sylla, a strong passion for the dominion of the republic had possessed him; nor did he care by what means he might effect that object, provided he could invest himself with absolute power. His haughty spirit was goaded more and more every day by the want of private property, and consciousness of guilt, both which vexations he had aggravated by those propensities to which I have alluded above.

The licentious principles of the community, over which sensuality and selfishness—the worst and most opposite vices—tyrannised, formed an additional incentive. The occasion, of itself, appears to suggest—as the circumstances of the time have reminded me of the moral condition of the state—that I should take a retrospect, and briefly review the institutions of our ancestors, in peace and war; how they governed the state; in what condition they left it; and how, insensibly degenerating, it became, from being the most flourishing, the most vicious and degraded.

6. Of the city Rome, as I have been informed, the original builders and inhabitants were the Trojans, who, emigrating under the command of Æneas, were wandering without a definite habitation; and with these, the Aborigines, a nomad race of men, without law, without government, wild and uncontrolled. When these parties met together within the same city, of different origin, distinct languages, and living under different social arrangements, it is inconceivable how easily they were blended. But, when their establishment, having improved in population, institutions, and territory, appeared considerably flourishing and strong, in the usual course of human nature, jealousy grew from their prosperity. Then neighbouring kings and nations assailed them in war: a few of their allies aided them; for the rest, terror-stricken, evaded the danger. But the Romans, on the alert, adopted expedients and made preparations, aroused each other, met their enemies, and, in arms, protected their liberty, home, and parents. Then, after they had valiantly dispelled the danger, they used to lend assistance to their allies and friends, and acquire alliances by bestowing, rather than accepting favours.

They enjoyed a constitution defined by laws; the form of that constitution, monarchical. A chosen body, whose physical powers were feeble in years, whose intellects were strong in wisdom, formed the counsel of the state. These men, either from their age, or the similarity of their responsibility, were called "The Fathers." Afterwards, when the monarchy, which had been originally designed for the security of liberty and the advancement of the state, degenerated into oppression and tyranny; changing their system, they insti-

tuted an annual authority, and two annual magistrates. Under this arrangement they believed it impossible that the human mind could become imperious from irresponsibility.

7. But at this period men began individually to put themselves forward and bring their talents more prominently before the public; for, with monarchs the talented are objects of jealousy rather than the incompetent; and to them the merits of others are ever more formidable. On the restoration of liberty, however, it is incredible how far the state advanced within a short time, such was the pervading passion for distinction. From this time the young men, as soon as they could undertake the hardships of war, acquired military experience by actual service in the camp, and took more pleasure in showy arms and chargers than in the gratification of passion or appetite. To such men, therefore, no exertion was unfamiliar, no locality wearisome or inaccessible; no armed foe formidable: resolution had overcome all. But it was among themselves that the highest emulation for glory operated; for instance, each was impatient to encounter an enemy, to scale a rampart, and to be observed while achieving some such exploit. This they regarded as wealth—this fair renown and exalted rank. Covetous but of fame, they were generous of wealth. Their desires were for glory without measure, riches in moderation. I could specify in what places the Roman people, with a small force, dispersed the greatest armies of their enemies; what towns, naturally fortified, they took by force, but that such details would divert me from my purpose.

8. But, in fact, Fortune is, in all cases, the ruling power. She heralds and suppresses all events, rather capriciously than impartially. The exploits of the Athenians, as well as I can judge, were on a really large and splendid scale; considerably inferior, however, to their reputation: but, because writers of great power flourished among them, the deeds of the Athenians are recorded throughout the world as the most glorious; consequently the merit of those who achieved them is estimated as highly as those brilliant intellects could enhance it by description.

On the contrary, the Roman people never had such advantages; because every most talented man was the most actively engaged: none would exert his intellect except in conjunction with his body. Each most competent man

would rather be the actor than the narrator : that his own services should be applauded by others, than that he should record theirs.

9. For these causes, a salutary discipline was maintained in peace and war : unity of feeling prevailed to the greatest, and selfishness to the least possible extent. Justice and honour derived their influence, not more from law than principle ; litigations, enmity, and jealousy they maintained with their public enemies ; citizens rivalled citizens in merit. In the worship of the Gods they were ostentatious ; in private life frugal ; in friendship sincere. By these two virtues, heroism in war and justice when peace ensued, they regulated themselves and the state. Of these facts I can adduce these strong confirmations ; that in war they were more frequently punished who engaged an enemy contrary to orders, and who, when recalled, retreated too reluctantly, than they who ventured to desert their standards, or, under compulsion, to retire from their ground ; and that, on the contrary, in peace they conducted their government rather by conciliation than terror ; and, on receiving an injury, they preferred forgiveness to retaliation.

10. But when the republic grew strong by industry and generosity ; when mighty kings were subdued in war ; savage nations and powerful tribes forcibly subjugated ; when Carthage, the rival of Roman power, withered from the roots ; and all lands and seas made accessible, then Fortune began to storm and convulse all.

To those who had easily surmounted dangerous and difficult circumstances, repose and wealth, the ambition of others, had been an incumbrance and an infliction. Therefore, the passion for wealth, in the first instance, and secondly for dominion, arose. These were, to some extent, the basis of all mischief, for avarice undermines honour, honesty, and the other virtues. In place of these, it inculcates oppression, heartlessness, a contempt for religion, and universal venality. The love of power has driven many a man to become a hypocrite ; to keep one sentiment for use upon his tongue ; another lurking in his heart ; to estimate friendship and enmity, not disinterestedly, but by their results ; and to cultivate rather a fair face than an easy conscience. This at first grew but slowly, was sometimes resented ; afterwards,

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when the infection, like an epidemic, spread its influence, the community was depraved; and the government, from the mildest and most upright, became oppressive and intolerable.

11. At first, however, it was rather ambition than avarice that actuated men's minds; which, though a vice, was still nearer to excellence: for the meritorious and incompetent alike covet distinction, honour, and authority; but the former raises himself by a legitimate course; while the other, because reputable means are not available, works by treachery and hypocrisy. Avarice implies a longing after money, which no wise man ever coveted; that, as if medicated with some baneful magic, enervates the once vigorous mind and body; is ever unreasonable and insatiable; is abated neither by abundance nor inanition. But when Sylla, having resumed his usurpation by ~~himself~~ experienced a tragic result from an auspicious beginning, then all became public and private plunderers: one would set his heart upon a mansion, another on an estate: nor did the victorious party evince moderation or sense of shame. They perpetrated on their countrymen insult and cruelty. To this also contributed that Lucius Sylla, in violation of ancestral usages, treated with indulgence and too much sacrifice of discipline the army which he commanded in Asia, in order to ensure their attachment to himself. Scenes of pleasure and sensuality, during intervals of repose, easily seduced the warlike spirits of the army. There the soldiers of the Roman people first acquired habits of indulging in love and wine, and a taste for statues, paintings, and sculptured vases. These they plundered on their own and the public responsibility: they violated all rights human and divine. Consequently, such troops, when they had obtained a victory, left nothing to the vanquished.

When prosperity tries the resolution even of philosophers, far less were these of vitiated principles likely to practise moderation in their triumph.

12. When riches began to be respected, and distinction, promotion, and influence attended them, merit began to languish, poverty to be regarded as disreputable, and inoffensiveness as malicious. As a consequence of wealth, therefore, extravagance and avarice, with arrogance, pervaded the rising generation: they became greedy and

improvident; undervalued their own, coveted the property of others; disregarded and outraged honour, delicacy, and divine and human obligations indiscriminately. It would be worth one's while, after inspecting mansions and villas built on the scale of towns, to visit the temples of the Gods which our ancestors, men of the truest piety, erected: but then, they used to grace the temples of the Gods with sanctity; their homes with their personal renown; nor did they deprive their conquered enemies of aught but the privilege of crime. But, on the contrary, these most worthless creatures of our time, with an utter abandonment of principle, have robbed our allies of all that those most valiant men left to their enemies; precisely as if the perpetration of outrage were the essential exercise of power.

13. For—why need I record facts which are credible only to those who have witnessed them: that mountains were levelled, and seas built upon by many private individuals? In whose hands wealth seems to me to have been a mere plaything; because they were impatient to spend disreputably what they might have honourably enjoyed. The propensity to intrigue, sensuality, and other indulgences, invaded society with equal intensity: men conceived unnatural passions; women violated all public decency. For the gratification of appetite, they explored all the productions of land and sea: they slept, before a desire for repose was felt: they waited not for hunger, thirst, cold, or fatigue, but gratuitously anticipated all these wants. Such habits instigated young men to crime when their private resources failed them. The mind, poisoned with vicious practices, could not easily forego the indulgence; and so, surrendered itself the more intemperately to all forms of rapacity and extravagance.

14. Catiline (as he might with ease, in so extensive and vicious a community) kept around him gangs of all the violent and dissipated characters, like a body-guard: because, all those shameless, immoral, and dissipated men, who had wrecked their inheritances by violence, intemperance, and incontinence; all who had incurred heavy debts, to compound for infamy or crime; besides, all perpetrators of murder and sacrilege, from all places, convicted, or dreading justice for their guilt; moreover, they whose deed or word—in perjury or assassination—maintained them; lastly, all whom loss of

character, destitution, or remorse made restless: such were the friends and associates of Catiline. But whoever, yet uncontaminated, was drawn into his society, by daily habit and temptation he was easily assimilated to the rest in the number and enormity of crimes. It was the acquaintance of young men, however, that he particularly courted: their minds, tractable and unsteady from their youth, were easily ensnared by his machinations; for, accordingly as every man's ruling passion was inflamed by his youth, he supplied mistresses to some, for others he purchased dogs and horses. In a word, he spared neither expense nor his own character, provided he could render them devoted and faithful to himself. I know that there were some who believed that the young men who visited Catiline's house were indifferent to the observances of moral propriety; but this report gained publicity rather from collateral circumstances than because it could be a matter of certainty to any one.

15. Even in early youth Catiline had been guilty of many criminal amours with a maiden of high rank; with a priestess of Vesta: and other similar offences in defiance of law and religion. Finally, when enslaved by his love of Aurelia Orestilla, in whom no honourable man had ever admired any quality beyond her beauty, it is believed as a fact that, because she hesitated to marry him through fear of her future step-son of mature age, he, by the murder of his son, removed from his house the obstacle to the guilty union—a deed which appears to me the chief incentive to the consummation of his guilt; for his foul conscience, at war with Gods and men, could be calmed neither by excitement nor repose: such were the ravages of remorse in his distracted mind. And so his complexion was faded; his eyes ghastly; his movement now hasty, now slow: in short, madness was stamped on his appearance and countenance.

16. But the young men, whom, as I observed above, he had seduced, he educated in many species of crime. He supplied, from their number, perjurers and forgers: he was reckless of their reputations, properties, and dangers. Then, after he had hardened them against honour and decency, he required other more serious sacrifices: if a motive for crime did not, at the moment, offer itself, to ensnare and murder,

notwithstanding, the unoffending as well as the obnoxious, of course, lest by disuse hand or heart might grow weak, he preferred even objectless guilt and cruelty. In reliance on these friends and partisans, because a pressure of debt affected the whole world at the same time when most of Sylla's soldiers, having extravagantly exhausted their means, and remembering their plunder and former victory, were longing after a civil war. Catiline adopted the design of crushing the republic.

No troops were in Italy: Cnæus Pompey was campaigning in distant lands: he entertained, himself, a confident hope of becoming a candidate for the consulship: the senate were altogether off their guard: all was safety and repose. These circumstances, however, were decidedly favourable to Catiline.

17. Accordingly, about the first of June, in the consulship of L. Cæsar and C. Figulus, he at first applied to them individually, tempted some, sounded others, and laid before them his own resources, the defenceless position of the government, and the important results of the conspiracy. When he had satisfactorily ascertained what he desired, he summoned together all who felt the greatest embarrassment and most courage. There assembled, of patrician rank, P. Lentulus Sura, P. Antronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cetheges, P. and S. Syllæ, (sons of Servius,) L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. P. Læca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius; also of the equestrian order, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinus Capito, and C. Cornelius: beside these, many from the colonies and free-towns, men of local importance. Several persons of rank, too, were, less ostensibly, associates of this conspiracy, to whom the prospect of power, rather than want or any other difficulty, formed an inducement. But in general the young men, especially those of the nobility, countenanced the enterprise of Catiline—men who, in quiet times, could live in splendour or luxury—and preferred a contingency to a certainty—war to peace. There were at that time, too, some who suspected that M. Licinius Crassus was aware of this project; because Cn. Pompey, his personal enemy, was in command of a numerous army; and that he would have any man's fortunes rise in opposition to his power; anticipating, too, that in case the conspiracy did succeed, he would be unquestionably their chief.

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18. But on a previous occasion, too, a few, among whom was Catiline, had conspired against the government. Of this conspiracy I shall dispose as briefly as possible.

In the consulate of L. Tullus and M. Lepidus the consuls elect, P. Antronius and P. Sylla were impeached under the bribery laws, and punished. Shortly after, Catiline, indicted for extortion, was prevented from canvassing for the consulship; because he could not declare himself a candidate within the time prescribed by law. There was, at the same time, a young patrician, C. Piso, of the most reckless daring, needy and seditious, whom his distress and evil principles were instigating to the subversion of the government. To him Catiline and Antronius having imparted their design about the 4th of December, were making arrangements to assassinate the consuls on the 1st of January, and after possessing themselves of the passes, to send Piso with an army to occupy the two Spains. This project having transpired, they again deferred their design of massacre to the 4th of February. On this occasion they were plotting for the destruction, not of the consuls only, but of the majority of the senate; so that had not Catiline been premature in giving the signal to his associates outside the senate house, on that day would have been perpetrated the bloodiest deed since the foundation of the city of Rome. The accident of a sufficient number of armed assassins not having yet assembled, frustrated the design.

19. Piso was afterwards sent as Quæstor with Prætorian authority into southern Spain, by the influence of Crassus, because he knew his hostility to Cn. Pompey; nor, indeed, were the senate reluctant to assign to him the province, because they wished to remove a dangerous man from the republic; also, because many loyal men considered him a protection, and the power of Pompey was already becoming formidable. But this Piso, while on his progress, was murdered in the province by some Spanish cavalry, whom he was marching in the army. Some parties assert that the foreigners were unable to endure his severe, imperious, and tyrannical command; others again, that the cavalry men, old and trusty dependents of Pompey, assassinated Piso at his instigation—that the Spaniards had never before committed any such act; but had submitted to many acts of tyranny on former occa-

signs. We shall leave the question unprejudiced. Of the previous conspiracy, sufficient notice has been taken.

20. When Catiline saw assembled those whom I have above named, although he had frequently and explicitly conversed with them individually, yet, judging it advantageous to address and encourage them collectively, he withdrew to a retired portion of the house, and there removing all listeners, delivered an address to the following effect: "Had not your resolution and honour been satisfactorily tested by me, a favourable occasion would have presented itself in vain: our ambitious hopes, the power within our grasp, would be valueless; nor would I by means of apathetic or feeble-minded men pursue a contingency in preference to a certainty; but because I have experienced your firmness and attachment to me on many and trying occasions, for this cause have I ventured to undertake a most arduous and glorious enterprise; also because I am convinced that the same circumstances are advantageous or prejudicial to both you and myself. An identity of inclinations and aversions—this, and this alone, is well-grounded friendship. But you have all, before now, been severally informed of what I have been contemplating. Still, my feelings are more and more aroused each successive day, when I reflect upon the probable condition of our future lives, unless we assert our own freedom. For, ever since the republic has submitted to the authority and ascendancy of a powerful oligarchy, the kings and tetrarchs have been tributary to them; nations and countries have paid them taxes; we, all the rest, brave, honourable, high and low, have been a mere rabble, without influence, without rank; at the mercy of those, to whom, were the constitution in health, we should be formidable. Consequently, all influence, power, promotion, and wealth, are concentrated among them; or, disposed as they please. To us they have assigned disappointments, dangers, prosecutions, and poverty: to which indignities, how long, men of high spirit, will ye submit? Would not a heroic death be preferable to the ignominious loss of a painful and degraded existence, after enduring the mockery of other men's tyranny? But, by the honour of Gods and men, it shall not be! Victory is within our reach; our youth is strong, our minds energetic: all their faculties, on the contrary, have

decayed by years and wealth. A beginning only is required; the cause itself will facilitate the rest. For, what human being, with the spirit of a man, can endure that they should possess superfluous wealth, to waste in building on seas and levelling mountains; that we should want pecuniary means, even to support life: that they should unite two or more houses; that we should possess no home? Though they purchase pictures, statues, and decorations of art, raze new structures, erect others, and, in short, waste and scatter their wealth by all contrivances; still by the most profuse extravagance, they cannot exhaust their riches. But our portion is beggary within doors, and debt without: a miserable present; a more disheartening future. Well then, what have we remaining but an intolerable existence? Why not, then, arise? Behold, there is that glorious liberty you have so often desired! Riches, too, rank and fame are within view! Fortune has wagered all these to reward the victors. May our circumstances, our opportunity, our dangers, our want, the rich harvest of war, rather than my words, excite you! Employ me either as your leader or your comrade. Neither hand or heart of mine shall fail you. These objects, I hope I shall, as a consul, aid you to effect; unless, perhaps, my judgment misleads me, and you are satisfied to be slaves rather than masters."

21. When men oppressed by every excess of misfortune, but without the reality or prospect of relief, heard this; though the derangement of the public peace seemed a strong inducement, yet many required that he would state what the terms of the war were to be; what reward they were to look for in arms; what means and encouragement they were to have, and where. Catiline then promised them an abolition of debts, a proscription of the wealthy citizens, civil appointments, benefices, arbitrary appropriation, and all else that war and the pleasure of the victors imply. He also stated that Piso was in southern Spain, P. Sittius Nucerinus with an army in Mauretania, accomplices of his project; that C. Antonius was canvassing for a consulship, a man who was both his friend and beset by every difficulty, and that when a consul, he would commence proceedings with him. He also assailed with calumny all respectable citizens; eulogised each of his own party by name; reminded one of his distress, another

of his ambition, several of their danger or degradation, and many of Sylla's victory, to whom it had been profitable. When he perceived the feelings of all were excited, having requested them to attend to his canvass, he adjourned the meeting.

22. There were some, at that time, who said that Catiline, after delivering his speech, when he was urging the accomplices of his crime to an oath, handed round in goblets human blood mixed with wine; of which when they had all tasted after the ceremony of obligation, according to the established form of religion, that he explained his design; and they asserted that he did so in order that, mutually conscious of so awful a deed, they may be more faithful to each other. Some persons believed that these and other particulars were fabricated by those who supposed that the jealousy towards Cicero which subsequently arose may be mitigated by the enormity of guilt attributed to the parties who were punished. Our certainty upon this point is not proportioned to its importance.

23. But at that meeting was Q. Curius, a man of high birth, overwhelmed by obloquy and guilt, whom the censors had degraded from the senate, as a mark of disgrace. This person had in him no less levity than recklessness: he could neither conceal what he had heard, nor disguise his own crimes. He had an intrigue of long continuance with Fulvia, a woman of high rank, with whom when he began to lose favour, because, in his distress, he was unable to pay expensive compliments, he suddenly began to boast, and promise her "oceans and mountains." Sometimes he would threaten her life, unless she yielded to his wishes; and, in fact, conducted himself more imperiously than usual. But Fulvia, having ascertained the cause of the strange demeanour of Curius, did not suppress so much danger to the republic; but, reserving her authority, repeated to several what she had heard, and under what circumstances, respecting Catiline's conspiracy. This event, more than any other, kindled the enthusiasm of the public, to entrust the consulship to M. Tullius Cicero; because, previously to this, the nobility in general would chafe with jealousy, and believe the consulate in some degree contaminated, if a man of recent elevation, no matter how distinguished, had obtained it. But, when danger

approached, jealousy and pride became secondary considerations.

24. Accordingly, when the elections were held, M. Tullius and C. Antonius were proclaimed consuls; an event which caused the first alarm to the accomplices of the conspiracy. Still, however, the infatuation of Catiline was not abated: he became, on the contrary, every day more active; provided depôts of arms in convenient places throughout Italy; and conveyed money, raised on his own or his friends' security, to Fæsulæ, to one Manlius, who was afterwards the first to engage in hostilities. At this time, he is said to have attached to his cause a numerous body of all classes; some women, too, who had, at first, supported heavy expenses by the abuse of their personal charms, and at last, when time had curtailed only their gains, not their taste for extravagance, had contracted debts to a large amount. Through them Catiline expected to be able to enlist the city slaves, burn the city, and either attach to his party, or murder their husbands.

25. Now among these was Sempronia, who had committed many deeds of masculine courage. This woman was considerably fortunate with respect to rank and personal attractions: also in her husband and children. She was learned in Greek and Latin literature; could sing to music and dance more exquisitely than was needful for a woman of virtue, and exhibit many other accomplishments which are accessories to dissipation; but, at all times, any consideration was dearer to her than propriety and honour. One could not easily determine whether she cared less for money or character, being under the influence of animal passions so violent, that she more frequently made advances to men, than she received them. But she had often before now betrayed confidence, forsworn trust, been cognizant of murder, and been ruined by extravagance and want. Her intellect, however, was not contemptible; she could write poetry, promote merriment, and assume a manner either decorous, sentimental, or licentious; in short, she possessed much wit and intellectual refinement.

26. With these arrangements made, Catiline still canvassed for a consulship of the following year, in the hope that, if he should be declared "elect," he could easily influence Antony as he pleased. Neither, in the mean time, was he idle; but was devising the assassination of Cicero, by

all contrivances; nor did the latter want craft or ingenuity in his precautions. For since the commencement of his consulship, by many promises communicated through Fulvia he succeeded in inducing Q. Curius, to whom I have already alluded, to betray to him the intentions of Catiline. In addition to this, he had prevailed with his colleague, for the consideration of a province, not to be disaffected. He kept around his person, unobserved, a guard of his friends and clients. When the day of election arrived, and neither Catiline's canvass succeeded, nor the attempt which he had arranged upon the consul's life, on "the field;" he resolved upon making war: and resorting to all desperate expedients, since his secret measures had proved impracticable and discreditable.

27. Accordingly, he sent off C. Manlius to Fæsulæ and the adjacent district of Etruria, A. Septimius of Camerinum, into the Picene country, and C. Julius into Apulia; besides, others to different places respectively, as he believed the men and the places would suit his purpose. In the mean time, he was making many simultaneous arrangements in Rome; contriving the assassination of the consul, preparing a conflagration, and occupying favourable positions with armed men; he carried arms himself; ordered the others to do the same; advised a state of perpetual vigilance and readiness; was busy night and day; took no rest; and was worn out neither by want of sleep nor fatigue. At length, when, after much exertion, no progress was made, he again summoned together the leaders of the conspiracy at midnight, through M. P. Lœca; and there, after complaining bitterly of their apathy, informed them that he had sent forward Manlius to that body whom he had organised for commencing hostilities; and others also, to other convenient places, to open the war; and that he was anxious, himself, to set out for the army, if he could first crush Cicero; for that he was the great obstacle to his designs.

28. Thereupon, while the rest were trembling and irresolute, C. Cornelius, a Roman knight, having volunteered his services, and with him L. Vargunteius, a senator, arranged that they would, shortly after, during that night, with armed followers, gain access to Cicero under pretext of visiting him, and suddenly murder him in his own house, while off his

guard. When Curius became aware of the danger which threatened the consul, he hastily communicated to Cicero, through Fulvia, the intended treachery; and so, being refused admission, they undertook in vain so desperate a deed.

Previously to this, Manlius was enlisting the people of Etruria, who were anxious for a revolution, both from their distress and resentment for their wrongs; because, during Sylla's usurpation, they had lost their lands and all their property; besides, banditti of all classes, great numbers of whom infested that district, and some of Sylla's colonists, whose dissipation and extravagance had left them nothing of all their plunder.

29. When this announcement reached Cicero, agitated by the two-fold danger, as he could no longer defend the city from treason by his individual wisdom, nor had he ascertained exactly to what extent, or with what object, the army of Manlius had been organised; he laid before the senate the circumstance, which was already the subject of discussion in common conversation; and accordingly (the usual course in a perilous crisis) the senate decreed, "that the consuls should make it their care that the republic may receive no harm." This is the most ample authority ever vested in a magistrate by the senate under the Roman Constitution—to enrol an army; to conduct a war; to control allies and citizens in every way; to assume a supreme power at home and abroad—otherwise, except by order of the people, no consul has power in these cases.

30. After a few days, L. Sænius, a senator, read in the house a letter which he said was brought to him from Fæsulæ, and in which it was stated, "that C. Manlius had taken up arms, followed by a numerous body, on the 27th of October." At the same time—as is usual on such occasions—some persons were announcing omens and strange phenomena; others, that meetings were held, arms conveyed, and an insurrection of the slaves in progress in Capua and Apulia.

Therefore, by a vote of the senate, Q. Marcius Rex was sent to Fæsulæ, Q. Metellus Creticus into Apulia and the neighbouring district. Both these generals were, outside the city, prevented from entering in triumph by the cabal of a

few individuals, whose practice was to trade in everything reputable and disreputable. The Prætors, however, were also sent, Q. Pompeius Rufus to Capua; Q. Metellus Celer to the Picene country; and these were authorised to raise an army as the occasion and danger may require. In addition to this, they voted rewards in case any person should give information concerning the conspiracy which had been formed against the republic; to a slave, his liberty and one hundred thousand sesterces; to a citizen, pardon for the offence and two hundred thousand sesterces. Also, that societies of gladiators should be distributed through Capua and other free towns, according to their respective means; that guards should be posted in Rome, through the whole city; and that the inferior magistrates should take charge of them.

31. By these events the state was agitated, and the aspect of the city altered. From the greatest amusement and gaiety, which the continuance of peace had induced, dejection suddenly seized all. People were bewildered and alarmed; they could confide fully neither in any place nor person; they could neither consider themselves engaged in war nor enjoying peace; they severally estimated the danger by their own fears. Moreover, the women to whom, in consequence of the extent of the republic, the terrors of war were strange, gave way to despair, raised their hands in supplication to heaven, lamented their little children; made perpetual inquiries: trembled at everything; and, forgetting pride and affectation, feared for themselves and their country. Yet the relentless heart of Catiline kept these same purposes in progress, although defensive measures were in preparation, and he was, himself, impeached under the Plautian law by L. Paulus. At length, for the purpose of deception, and apparently to establish his innocence, as though he had been assailed by calumny, he came into the senate. Then M. Tullius the consul, either dreading the effect of his appearance, or actuated by indignation, delivered a brilliant and patriotic speech, which he afterwards transcribed and published. When he sat down, however, Catiline, prepared as he was to disclaim all, with dejected eyes, and imploring accents, entreated "that the Conscript Fathers would not adopt any hasty opinion of him; that he had descended from such a family, and had so regu-

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lated his life from his youth, as to have all advancement in prospect; that they would not believe that he, a patrician, whose own and whose ancestors' services to the commons of Rome had been so numerous, could have any object in the ruin of the republic, when M. Tullius, an adopted citizen of Rome, would save it." When he would have added other invectives, they all shouted him down, and called him an enemy and a traitor. "Since then," said he, "I am beset by my enemies, and driven to desperation, I shall extinguish my fire by the fall of others."

32. He then rushed home from the senate house. There, after deep reflection, as his designs upon the consul were not succeeding, and, as he was aware that the city was defended from fire by sentries; believing it his best expedient to increase his army, and secure the necessary appliances for war, before the legions could be enrolled he set out, with a few attendants, at midnight, to the camp of Manlius. But he commissioned Lentulus and Cetheges, whose active resolution he knew, to strengthen their party, by all means in their power, to consummate their designs upon the consul; to prepare massacre, conflagration, and other scenes of war; promising that he would, himself, immediately advance to the city with a strong force. While this was taking place at Rome, C. Manlius sent a deputation out of his party to Marcus Rex, with a message to this effect:

33. "We call to witness Gods and men, general, that we have taken up arms neither against our country, nor in order to bring danger upon others, but that our own persons may be secure from outrage; who, in our suffering and distress, have been deprived by the impatience and heartlessness of usurers, most of us, of our country; but all, of our characters and properties; nor was any one of us allowed the benefit of the law, according to the usage of our ancestors; nor, after the forfeiture of our properties, to enjoy liberty of person—such has been the cruelty of the money-lenders and the prætor. Often have your ancestors, in compassion for the commons of Rome, relieved distress by their decrees; and very recently, within our own recollection, on account of the pressure of debt, and with the consent of all considerate men, silver was paid with brass. Often have the commons themselves, actuated, either by a desire for po^{er}, or

or by the tyranny of magistrates, withdrawn in arms from the fathers. But, we look not either for ascendancy or wealth, for sake of which all war and strife arise among men; but our liberty, which no honourable man loses but with life. We entreat of you and the senate to provide for the relief of your unfortunate fellow-citizens; to restore the protection of the law, which the severity of the prætor has removed; and, not to lay upon us such difficulties that we must consider how we are to die, having first, if possible, avenged our blood."

34. To this Marcius replied, "that, if they meant to solicit anything from the senate, they must lay down their arms, and proceed as suppliants to Rome: that the senate and people of Rome had ever evinced such clemency and consideration, that none had ever besought their aid in vain." Catiline, however, on his progress, sent a letter to most of the ex-consuls, also to all the most respectable men, stating, that, "beset by false accusations, since he was unable to withstand the combination of his enemies, he was submitting to circumstances, and going into exile to Massilia; not because he could accuse himself of such guilt, but that the republic may remain tranquil, and that no dissension may result from resistance." Q. Catulus read before the senate a letter of far different tendency from this, which he said was handed to him in Catiline's name. Of this a copy is here written:

35. "Lucius Catiline to Quintus Catulus, greeting.—Your singular sincerity, so consoling to me on a well-known occasion, lends confidence, under my present great danger, to the trust I repose. For which reason I have resolved, in consequence of my feeling innocent of any crime, to submit to you an explanation of the reasons why I have not thought proper to offer any public apology for my present course—and this (so help me the God of honour) you may receive as true. Goaded by wrongs and insults, inasmuch as being excluded from the recompense of my services and exertions, I did not attain a position suited to my rank; I have undertaken the advocacy of the unfortunate, according to my habit: not, that I was unable to pay, from my own resources, the debts incurred on my own security, while the generosity of Oræstilla would discharge those contracted on the securities

of other parties, from her own and her daughter's property : but, that I saw unworthy persons honoured by promotion, and myself set aside upon a groundless suspicion. On this account I have embraced a prospect, sufficiently reputable considering circumstances, of maintaining what remains of my rank. When I would have written more fully, intelligence reached me that force was in preparation against me. I now entrust and consign Orestilla to your protection. Entreated in the name of your children, to defend her from insult. Farewell."

36. But after sojourning a few days with C. Flaminius Flamma, in the Aretine country, while he furnished with arms the country already disaffected, he proceeded with fasces and other emblems of authority into the camp to Manlius. When this was ascertained at Rome, the senate pronounced Catiline and Manlius enemies, and specified a day for the rest of the party, before which they might, without danger, lay down their arms, except such as were condemned of capital offences. They also voted that the consuls should enrol recruits; that Anthony should, with the army, hasten to pursue Catiline, and that Cicero should protect the city. At that time, the empire of the Roman people appears to me to have been in the most pitiable condition possible; because, though all from east to west was under subjection and obedience to their arms; though internal peace and wealth, which mankind regard as the chief blessings, existed in abundance; yet it contained citizens who, with a resolute determination, were advancing to the destruction of themselves and their country. For, after two decrees of the senate, neither was any, out of so numerous a party, tempted by the reward to expose the conspiracy; nor did any man forsake the camp of Catiline. Such a spirit of disaffection, like an epidemic, had pervaded the minds of most of the citizens.

37. Nor were they alone disaffected who were actually implicated in the conspiracy; but in general the whole population, through a desire for revolution, favoured the enterprise of Catiline. This they appear to have done quite in accordance with their usual habit; for, on all occasions, in an organised community, such as have no possessions are jealous of the respectable, and would elevate the low; hate existing institutions; are anxious for novelty; through discontent with

their present condition, they desire radical changes ; and during periods of anarchy and dissension, live without care ; since indigence is easily secured from loss. But the populace of the city—they indeed had become desperate for many causes. In the first instance, such as were everywhere foremost in infamy and effrontery ; others, too, who had lost their properties discreditably ; all, in fact, whom obloquy or guilt had banished from their homes—all these congregated to Rome, as into a sewer. In the second place, many who still remembered Sylla's victory—because they saw some, once common soldiers, now senators, others so wealthy, that they lived in princely style and magnificence—severally anticipated similar results of a victory, if they appeared in arms ; besides, the young men who had withstood poverty by the produce of their labours in the country, tempted by the largesses of individuals and of the government, preferred the idleness of the city to their ill-requested toil. These and all the rest, the public disorder maintained. For which reasons, it is less surprising that needy men of vicious principles and ambitious hopes, were equally reckless of themselves and the republic. In addition to these, they whose parents, during Sylla's usurpation, had been proscribed, properties forfeited, and civil privileges curtailed, regarded the issue of the war with precisely the same feelings. Such also, as were of any other than the senate's party, preferred a derangement of the republic to their own exclusion from power. With such intensity had this disorder, after many years, come back upon society.

38. Because, after the tribunician privileges were restored in the consulate of Cn. Pompey and M. Crassus, young men, whose age and feelings were exciteable, began, when invested with high authority, to excite the populace by railing at the senate ; afterwards, by gratuities and promises, they further inflamed them, and so made themselves notorious and influential. In opposition to these, the aristocracy in general exerted themselves with the utmost energy, ostensibly for the supremacy of the senate, really for their own. For, at that time—to explain the fact briefly, all who embraced the republic were striving for personal aggrandisement, under plausible pretences, while affecting a concern for the public welfare ; some, with an appearance of maintaining the rights of the people ; others,

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as if in order that the authority of the senate may be paramount. Nor was humility or moderation the character of the rivalry; both factions used their victories oppressively.

39. But after Pompey was commissioned to the Piratic and Mithridatic wars, the influence of the people declined; the power of the oligarchy increased. These monopolised civil offices, provinces, and all besides: safe and successful themselves, they lived in security; and by legal prosecution intimidated others, with a view to render the people more manageable under their administration. As soon, however, as a prospect of change, under these untoward circumstances, presented itself, the old spirit of opposition awakened their passions. So that, had Catiline quitted his first field with an advantage, or even upon equal terms, great bloodshed and ruin would unquestionably have overwhelmed the republic; nor would they who might have gained a victory, have been able to enjoy it longer than, until some more powerful party could wrest ascendancy and freedom from the weary and exhausted. Be this as it may, there were many unconnected with the conspiracy, who had, at first, set out to Catiline. Among these was A. Fulvius, the senator's son, whom his father arrested on his way, and sentenced to death. At the same time, in Rome, Lentulus, in compliance with Catiline's commands, was enlisting, either personally or by agents, all whom he considered suited by inclination or circumstances to a revolution; and not citizens merely, but men of all classes, provided they could be serviceable in war.

40. He, accordingly, commissioned one P. Umbrenus to find the ambassadors of the Allobroges, and, if he could, to urge them to a participation in the war; judging that, as they were nationally and individually involved in debt, and as the Gallic race were constitutionally warlike, they might be easily attracted to such a project. Umbrenus, as he had been trading in Gaul, was known to, and acquainted with, many of their leading men. Therefore, without loss of time, when next he saw the ambassadors in the forum, having made a few inquiries respecting the condition of their country, and affecting to commiserate its reverses, proceeded to inquire "what extrication from such difficulties did they expect?" When he

found them dissatisfied with the rapacity of their magistrates, blaming the senate, because no relief could be obtained there, and looking forward to death, as the only alleviation of their sufferings. "Yet," said he, "I will show you, if you will only be men, an expedient, by which you may escape such calamities as these." When he spoke thus, the Allobroges, raised to the most sanguine hopes, entreated Umbrenus to pity them; for that nothing was so dangerous or difficult, but they would most readily do, if it would but extricate the nation from debt.

He brought them into the house of D. Brutus, as it was near the forum, and through Sempronia, not unfamiliar with the project, and as Brutus was, at the time, absent from Rome. He also sent for Gabinus, that the interview may have the more importance. In his presence, he disclosed the conspiracy, named the accomplices, including many innocent persons of all classes, and then dismissed them, when they had promised their co-operation.

41. The Allobroges were, however, long undecided what course to take: on the one hand lay their debt, their propensity to war, a rich recompense depending on the prospect of a victory; while, on the other, were more powerful resources, safe measures, a certain reward, in place of an uncertain expectation. As they reflected upon this, the fortune of the state eventually prevailed; and accordingly they communicated the whole circumstance, as they had discovered it, to Q. F. Sanga, whose protection their nation generally enjoyed. Cicero, having through Sanga ascertained their intention, directed the ambassadors to affect a strong interest in the conspiracy, to wait upon the others, to hold out fair promises, and make it their business to have them as deeply implicated as possible.

42. About the same time the agitation was spreading in Southern and Northern Gaul, in the Picene district, also in Bruttium and Apulia; because those persons, whom Catiline had previously sent abroad, took all their measures at once, inconsiderately, and apparently urged by insanity. By midnight meetings, consignments of arms, precipitation, and universal excitement, they occasioned more terror than danger. Of this number, Q. Metellus Celer, the prætor, tried and imprisoned several under the act of the senate; and, in Northern

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Gaul, C. Muræna, who commanded that province as deputy-governor, acted similarly.

43. But at Rome, Lentulus and the others, who were the directors of the conspiracy, having organised what appeared to be a numerous force, arranged, that when Catiline should arrive in the Fæsulæ district, L. Bestia, a tribune of the people, should deliver a speech, complain of the proceedings of Cicero, and lay the odium of a most formidable war upon a most efficient consul; and taking that for their signal, that the rest of the party should perform their respective duties. These were said to be distributed in the following way: that Statilius and Gabinus, with a strong company, were to set fire, simultaneously, to twelve accessible points of the city, by which alarm access might be had to the consul and others, for whom assassination was designed; that Cethegus was to station himself at Cicero's door, and assault him, while the others chose different victims respectively; and then, when all were terror-stricken by the bloodshed and conflagration, that they should force their way to Catiline. During these preparations and arrangements, Cethegus was incessantly complaining of the apathy of his associates; that by indecision and procrastination they were losing valuable opportunities; that in such a crisis, action and not counsel was necessary; and that, if a few would assist him while others were slumbering, he would make an attack on the senate-house. He was constitutionally haughty, violent, and hasty in action, and estimated the greatest advantage to result from expedition.

44. But the Allobroges, according to Cicero's instructions, procured, through Gabinus, an interview with the others; they demanded an oath from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, which, with signatures attached, to present to their countrymen: for that otherwise they could not be urged to so serious an enterprise. The rest gave it without suspicion; Cassius promised that he would shortly attend, and left the city immediately before the ambassadors. Lentulus sent with them one T. Volturcius, in order that the Allobroges may consummate their alliance with Catiline, by giving and receiving assurances before they proceeded home. He gave Volturcius a letter for Catiline, of which a copy here follows: "Who I am, you will learn from

the person I have sent to you. Fail not to reflect on the desperate position in which you are placed, and to remember that you are a man ; to calculate what your circumstances require, and to look for help, even from the meanest." He gave him also a verbal message ; to ask on what principle he was rejecting the slaves, after being pronounced a public enemy by the senate ; that his prescribed arrangements in the city were now mature, and that he need not hesitate to approach in person.

45. When these matters were so disposed, and the night specified on which they were to set out, Cicero, having ascertained all through the ambassadors, commanded L. Valerius Flaccus and C. Pomptinus, the prætors, to arrest the ambassadors, by an ambush on the bridge—explaining fully the reason why they were sent—and to proceed further, as may be necessary. Being men of military experience, having quietly stationed their guards, according to their instructions, they secretly invested the bridge. When the ambassadors, with Volturcius, reached that point, and a simultaneous shout rose on both sides, the Gauls, immediately understanding the design, surrendered themselves without resistance to the prætors. Volturcius, at first, cheering on the rest, defended himself with a sword from the crowd ; and afterwards, when forsaken by the ambassadors, first earnestly appealing to Pomptinus for his safety, as he was an acquaintance, he eventually, in terror and despair of his life, surrendered himself to the prætors as enemies.

46. When this business was completed, all was speedily communicated to the consul by messengers. But a mingled feeling of anxiety and satisfaction possessed him ; for he rejoiced that the state was rescued from danger, by the discovery of the conspiracy ; and again, he was perplexed, as to what course should be taken, when citizens of such rank were detected in the most heinous guilt, feeling that their punishment would be a vexation to him, and their exemption, the ruin of the republic. Having, therefore, made up his mind, he ordered Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinus, to be summoned before him ; also a Quintus Cæparius of Terracina, who was preparing to proceed to Apulia, to effect a rising of the slaves. The rest came without delay ; Cæparius having a short time previously left

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his house, when he ascertained the discovery, had escaped from the city. The consul, holding Lentulus by the hand, as he was a prætor, led him into the senate; the rest he ordered to attend with an escort, in the Temple of Concord. Thither he summoned the senate, and, before a numerous attendance of the house, brought in Volturcius with the ambassadors. He ordered Flaccus, the prætor, to bring to the same place a desk containing the documents which he had obtained from the ambassadors.

47. Volturcius, when questioned respecting his destination, the letters, and, at last, what intentions he had, and with what object; at first misrepresented the facts, and disclaimed all knowledge of the conspiracy. Afterwards, when ordered to speak under public protection, he disclosed all, as it had occurred; and stated, that he was associated as an accomplice by Gabinus and Cæparius a few days previously; that he knew no more than the ambassadors; that he merely used to hear from Gabinus, that P. Antronius, Servius Sylla, L. Vargunteius, and many others, were concerned in the conspiracy. The Gauls made a similar confession, and convicted Lentulus of prevarication, independently of the letter, by the observations which he was in the habit of making, "that, according to the Sybilline books, the sovereignty of Rome was predestined for three Cornelli; that Cinna and Sylla had preceded him, and that he was the third, whose fate it was to be master of the city; that the present also was the twentieth year from the burning of the capitol, which soothsayers had predicted by portents would be marked by the blood of a civil war." Therefore, after the letter was read, when they had all previously acknowledged their signatures, the senate decreed, that Lentulus, after being deposed from his office, and the others with him, should be kept in open custody; and accordingly they were surrendered, Lentulus to P. Lentulus Spinther, who was then ædile; Cethegus to Q. Cornificius; Statilius to C. Cæsar; Gabinus to M. Crassus; and Cæparius (for he had been a short time previously arrested on his flight) to Cn. Terentius, the senator.

48. In the mean time, the commons, who were at first rather predisposed for war, through a desire for revolution, now that the conspiracy was discovered, execrated the project of Catiline; lauded Cicero to the skies; and, as if rescued

from slavery, evinced joy and exultation. Because they regarded other scenes of war rather as a gain than loss; but a conflagration as cruel, uncontrollable, and particularly destructive to themselves, being a class whose whole wealth consisted in matters of daily consumption, and personal necessities. On the day following, one L. Tarquin was brought before the senate, whom they represented as having been arrested on his journey while going to Catiline. When he said that he would give information respecting the conspiracy, if public protection was ensured to him; on being commanded by the consul to communicate whatever he knew, he informed the senate of nearly the same particulars as Volturcius; the intended conflagration, the massacre of loyal citizens, the route of the enemy; and also that he had been commissioned by M. Crassus to tell Catiline, that the arrest of Lentulus, Cethegus, and the others, need not alarm him; and to use the more expedition, therefore, to approach the city, so as to restore the confidence of the rest, and to have them more easily rescued from danger. But when Tarquin mentioned Crassus, a man of high rank, excessive wealth, and most powerful influence, some regarded the statement as incredible; others, though they believed it true, still, because a man of such power should, on such an occasion, be rather conciliated than offended; and many were under obligations to Crassus in private transactions, they exclaimed unanimously that the witness was false, and demanded that a vote should be taken on that question. Accordingly, on the motion of Cicero, the senate unanimously decided, "that the evidence of Tarquin appeared to be false; that he should be kept in custody, and that no further hearing be granted to him, unless he gave information of the person at whose instigation he had asserted such a falsehood." There were at that time some who believed that evidence to have been prepared by P. Antronius, in order that, by implicating Crassus, his influence may more easily protect the others by a participation in the danger. Others said that Tarquin had been suborned by Cicero, to prevent Crassus from embarrassing the government, by undertaking, according to his habit, the protection of the guilty. I afterwards heard Crassus himself assert, that this calumny, of such enormity, was cast upon him by Cicero.

49. At the same time, however, Q. Catulus and C. Piso

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were unable, either by influence, or entreaty, or bribery, to urge Cicero to have C. Cæsar falsely implicated through the Allobroges or any other informer, for both these entertained a determined hostility to him: Piso, for having been impeached, on his trial for extortion, for the illegal punishment of a Transpadane Gaul; and Catulus, exasperated ever since his canvass for the high-priesthood, because at an advanced age, and after filling the highest offices, he had been superseded by Cæsar, then a young man. Besides, the opportunity appeared favourable, because, in consequence of his singular generosity in private, and his expensive public exhibitions, he had incurred debts to a large amount. But when they failed in urging the consul to such a crime, by a personal application to individuals, and inventing statements which they said they had received from Volturcius or the Allobroges, they excited a considerable feeling of jealousy against him, to such an extent, that some Roman knights, who formed an armed guard round the temple of Concord, actuated either by the seriousness of the danger or the loyalty of their sentiments, in order that their enthusiasm for the republic might be the more notorious, threatened Cæsar's life as he passed from the senate house.

50. While these events were passing in the senate, and rewards were being voted to the ambassadors of the Allobroges and Titus Volturcius, on their evidence being confirmed; the freedmen and a few of the clients of Lentulus, in different directions, were enlisting the mechanics and slaves in the streets to rescue him. Some were looking for the leaders of the mobs who used to disturb the republic for payment. Cethegus, again, through his agents, was beseeching his slaves and freedmen to form a band, and force their way to him in arms. The consul, when he heard of these intentions, after posting guards, as the occasion and time suggested, summoned the senate, and proposed for consideration, "what they would have done with those who had been given into custody." But the senate had already unanimously decided that they had offended against the republic. Then D. Junius Silanus, being first called upon to vote, as he was then consul elect, had moved that capital punishment be inflicted on those who were kept in custody; and also on L. Cassius, P. Furius, P. Umbrenus, and Q. Annius, in case they should be arrested: and had afterwards declared, when convinced by the speech of

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C. Piso

C. Cæsar, that he would side **on a division with the opinion** of Tiberius Nero, because he had voted for a further debate on that question, after the guards should be increased. But Cæsar, when his turn came, being asked his opinion by the consul, delivered a speech to the following effect :

51. "Conscript Fathers, all men who deliberate on debateable questions should be uninfluenced by prejudice, partiality, resentment, and pity. The mind cannot easily discern the truth when these feelings interpose ; **nor has any man ever consulted at once his passions and his interest.** When you exert the intellect, it is strong : if passion sways you, it predominates : the reason has no power. I have ample opportunity of instancing kings and nations who, under the influence of resentment or pity, decided unwisely ; but I prefer adducing **what our ancestors did wisely and consistently, contrary to the impulse of their feelings.** In the Macedonian war, which we carried on against King Perses, the community of the Rhodians, then flourishing and powerful, which had drawn its strength from the aid of the Roman people, proved treacherous and hostile to us ; but when, on the conclusion of the war, the case of the Rhodians was considered, our ancestors passed them by unpunished, lest any might say that a war had been undertaken rather for gain than for vengeance. In like manner, in all the Punic wars, though the Carthaginians had frequently been guilty of many unprincipled crimes, both during peace and armistice, they never retaliated when opportunity offered. They considered rather what suited their own dignity than what might be justly visited upon the others. The same caution is now required of you, Conscript Fathers, that the crime of Lentulus and the others may not have more weight with you than your own dignity, and that you may not consult your resentment rather than your reputation. Because, if a suitable punishment for their guilt is devised, I **sanction extraordinary measures ;** but if the extent of their **guilt surpasses the comprehension of all, I vote for the adoption of such as are provided by the laws.** The majority of those who have declared their opinions before me have lamented the position of the state in elaborate and brilliant language ; they have recounted what are the horrors of war—what befalls the vanquished—the violation of maidens and boys—children torn from the arms of their parents—matrons

suffering the pleasure of the conquerors—temples and mansions rifled; and, in short, a universal scene of arms, corpses, blood shed, and mourning. But, in the name of the immortal Gods, what was the object of such declamation? was it to exasperate you against the conspiracy? A speech will, of course, excite one whom so grave and heinous a reality has failed to move! Such is not the fact; nor do his own wrongs appear insignificant to any man: many estimate them more seriously than they deserve. But different men, Conscript Fathers, enjoy different degrees of liberty. Few only know what errors they commit in anger, who pass their lives buried in obscurity: their notoriety and social position are proportionate. All men are acquainted with the acts of those who are invested with power, and live in an elevated station. So that, in the highest position is the least liberty. It is our duty neither to be partial nor prejudiced, and, least of all, to be vindictive. What is called indignation in other cases, is termed oppression and cruelty in power. I am, for my part, of this opinion, that any torture is inadequate to their crimes; but men in general remember the closing scene; and in the case of criminals, forgetting the offence, they descant upon the punishment, should it happen to be unusually severe. I am quite sure that D. Silanus, a brave and energetic man, spoke as he did through zeal for the republic; and did not, on so important a question, entertain partiality or aversion: such I know to be the principles, such the moderation of the man. His views, however, appear to me not cruel—for what cruelty can be inflicted on such men—but inconsistent with our constitution. For unquestionably either fear or a sense of wrong has urged you, Silanus, to sanction a new form of punishment. Of fear it would be idle to speak, particularly when, by the efficient precautions of our most distinguished consul, such military defences are under arms. With respect to punishment, we may observe what the fact suggests; that, in sorrow and suffering, death is a release from misery, and not a torture—that it frees us from all the ills of mortality—that, thenceforth, sorrow or joy can have no place. But, in the name of the immortal Gods, why did you not append to your vote, 'that they be first punished by the scourge?' Was it because the Porcian law forbids it? But other laws also provide that the lives of condemned citizens should not be for-

feited ; but that banishment be allowed. Was it because the scourge is a heavier infliction than death ? And yet, what can be called cruelty or undue severity to men convicted of such guilt ? But, if the reason be that it is more lenient, how is it consistent to respect the law in a less important, when you disregard it in a more serious matter ? But then, who will censure whatever may be pronounced upon the assassins of their country ? Circumstances, futurity, fortune, whose pleasure controls the world ! On them whatever may happen must fall deservedly. But you, Conscript Fathers, should reflect what you may be enacting against others. All pernicious precedents have originated in good intentions ; but when power passes to the incompetent or the unprincipled, that extraordinary precedent is transferred from proper and suitable to improper and unsuitable cases. The Lacedæmonians established over the conquered Athenians thirty men to govern their republic. These men began at first to execute unsentenced all the most vicious and universally detested characters. The people rejoiced at this, and said that they suffered deservedly. Afterwards, when their impunity increased, they capriciously put to death the innocent and the guilty indiscriminately, and intimidated the rest. In this manner, the state, crushed by slavery, suffered a heavy retribution for its ill-timed exultation. Within our own recollection, when Sylla after his victory ordered the execution of Damasippus and other similar characters, who had grown powerful to the prejudice of the republic, who did not commend his measures ? They said that guilty and seditious men, who agitated the republic by their factions, were justly put to death. That proceeding, however, was the prelude to an extensive calamity ; for, as soon as one coveted any man's mansion or villa, or, in short, his furniture or wardrobe, he exerted himself to have him numbered among the attainted. And so, those persons to whom the death of Damasippus had been a triumph, were, after a short time, themselves arrested ; nor did the executions terminate before Sylla had satisfied with wealth all his own party. Of course I do not apprehend this under Marcus Tullius, nor present circumstances ; but in a large community there are many and various tempers : on some future occasion, under some future consul, who may, in like manner, have an army at his disposal, some fiction may be believed as a fact

When, after this precedent, by a decree of the senate, the consul shall have drawn the sword, who shall fix a limit—who shall control him? Our ancestors, Conscript Fathers, were never deficient in judgment or courage; nor did pride prevent them from imitating the established usages of others, provided only they were expedient. They borrowed the arms and weapons of warfare from the Samnites, most of the regalia of their magistrates from the Etrurians; in fact, whatever appeared suitable, in any quarter, either among allies or enemies, they adopted at home with the utmost enthusiasm. They preferred an imitation to a jealousy of wise institutions. But, at that same time, following the usage of Greece, they punished their citizens with the scourge, and inflicted capital punishment on condemned criminals. When the republic attained maturity, and factions derived strength from the numbers of the citizens, innocent persons began to be ensnared, and other similar offences were committed. Then the Porcian and other laws were provided, by which banishment was allowed in the case of condemned citizens. This I regard as a particularly strong argument against our adopting an extraordinary measure. They unquestionably possessed greater energy and wisdom, who made the empire so great from humble resources, than we, who with difficulty retain their valuable acquisitions. Is it, then, my wish that they should be set free, and the army of Catiline reinforced? By no means! But I vote thus: 'That their properties be confiscated; that they be kept in custody in such of the free towns as are most opulent; and that none shall hereafter make them the subject of a motion in the senate, or of a proposition to the people; and that the senate do pronounce that whoever shall act in violation hereof, shall act against the republic and the general welfare.'

52. When Cæsar concluded his address, the rest gave verbal assent to different speakers respectively. But M. Porcius Cato, when called upon for his opinion, delivered a speech of the following tendency:

"Conscript Fathers, when I reflect upon the reality of our danger, and when I review in my mind the sentiments of some persons, I entertain a far different opinion of each. Those persons appear to me to have been discussing the question of their punishment, who have undertaken a war upon their

country, their parents, their own homes, and their religion; but the actual circumstances warn us rather to take precautions against them, than to deliberate what sentence we should pronounce upon them. Because you can punish other offences after they have been committed; but, unless you provide against the occurrence of this, when it does happen, you will appeal in vain to justice. When a city is taken, nothing is left to the vanquished. But, in the name of the immortal Gods, I call upon you, who have ever valued your mansions and villas, your statues and pictures more highly than the republic, if you would keep those possessions, such as they are, to which you are so fondly attached—if you would give security to your pleasures—arise at last, and rally round the republic. The present is not a question of the revenues, nor of the wrongs of our allies: our lives and liberty are in danger. Often, Conscript Fathers, have I spoken at length in this house: often have I complained of the sensuality and avarice of our citizens; and I have, on that account, drawn upon me the enmity of many people. I, who never indulged myself or my own inclinations with immunity for any delinquency, could not readily pardon the offences of another's propensities. But, though you lightly regarded these remonstrances, yet the republic was strong; its power was proof against your neglect. Now, however, the question is not whether we live under a virtuous or vicious discipline; nor how great and respectable the empire of the Roman people may be; but whether these interests, such as they are, are to continue our own; or we and they are to be at the disposal of the enemy.

“Does any man now speak to me of clemency and mercy! Long ago, indeed, have we forgotten the true names of things; for, to be generous of another's property, is called munificence; effrontery in a bad cause is termed heroism; consequently the republic is involved in danger. Let them, by all means, since such is the fashion, be generous of the properties of our allies; let them be merciful to the peculators of the exchequer; but let them not bestow our lives upon them; nor, while they spare a few criminals, proceed to the destruction of all the loyal. Cælius Cæsar has just spoken in this house eloquently and elaborately, upon life and death, regarding, I presume, as false, what is told of the dead; that the guilty, separated from the just, inhabit a gloomy, desolate, melancholy and appalling

region. And accordingly he voted that their properties be confiscated, and their persons kept in custody in the free towns; of course, to prevent their being forcibly rescued by the accomplices of the conspiracy, or by a hired mob; as if the disaffected and criminal were to be found only in the city, and not throughout all Italy, or as if audacity were not more powerful where the means of defence are less. Wherefore, such a proposition is idle, if he apprehends danger from them; but if, amid so much general alarm, he alone feels no fear, it is so much the more incumbent on me to fear for myself and you.

"So that, when you pronounce sentence on P. Lentulus and the others, take it for granted that you decide, at the same time, respecting Catiline's army and all the conspirators. The more resolutely you take these measures, the weaker will be their confidence; but, should they find you negligent only for a moment, then will they all confidently advance upon you. Do not believe that our ancestors aggrandised the republic from an humble condition by arms. Were such the case, we should now have it in the most flourishing condition; because we have a larger supply of allies and citizens, of arms also, and horses, than they had: but there were other circumstances which contributed to their greatness, which we have not; energy at home; abroad, a mild government; a judgment unbiassed in counsel, enslaved neither to crime nor passion. In place of these, we have sensuality and rapacity; national insolvency and individual opulence: we worship wealth, and practise indolence—no distinction between the loyal and seditious—personal influence secures what should be the reward of merit. Nor is this extraordinary, when you take your measures separately and selfishly; when you are, at home, the slaves of your pleasures; here, of your gain or your popularity. The consequence is, that an attack is made upon the undefended republic. But I pass by these considerations.

"Citizens of the highest rank have conspired to burn their native city; they invite to a war the nation of the Gauls, the worst enemies of the Roman name. The leader of the enemy, with his army, is over your heads. Are you even still undecided how to treat your enemies arrested within the city? I vote that you show them mercy,—the young men have

merely *erred* through ambition—and set them free even in arms. Yes! that clemency and pity, if they get possession of their arms, will result in your ruin. Of course, the case is critical; but you don't fear it!—nay, you do, most sorely! but through apathy and weakness of mind, you are waiting for each other, and hesitating, relying apparently on the immortal Gods, who have often saved this republic in its greatest dangers. It is not by vows or unmanly prayers that the interference of the Gods is obtained; it is by caution, energy, and a wise policy that all ends well. When you surrender yourself to apathy and indolence, it is useless to appeal to the Gods. They are offended and unfriendly. Among our ancestors, T. Manlius, in the Gallic war, sentenced to death his own son, because he engaged with an enemy contrary to orders; and that excellent youth atoned by death for his undisciplined heroism; and you are undecided what to resolve respecting the most sanguinary traitors! Their past lives, of course, are a compensation for their present guilt. Do consider the rank of Lentulus, if he has considered moral rectitude or his reputation! Excuse the inexperience of Cethegus, if it be not the second time he has levied war upon his country. For why need I allude to Gabinus, Statilius, and Cæparius, who would never have entertained such a design upon the republic, if ever they seriously regarded anything? In a word, Conscript Fathers, if there were room for a mistake, I would at once allow you to be set right by the event, since you disregard warnings: but we are beset on all sides; Catiline with his army is leaping at our throats; other enemies are within the walls, in the heart of the city. No secret arrangement or resolution is possible; so that expedition is more necessary. For which reasons I vote, 'that, whereas, by the traitorous designs of disaffected citizens, the republic has been involved in extreme danger; and, as they have been convicted by the evidence of T. Volturcius and the ambassadors of the Allobroges, and have admitted that they had devised death, conflagration, and other deeds of destruction and cruelty, against their countrymen and country, that punishment be inflicted, according to the usage of our ancestors, on the parties who have pleaded guilty, inasmuch as they are convicted of capital offences.'

53. When Cato sat down, all the ex-consuls and a majo-

city of the senate applauded his views, extolled the vigour of his mind to the heavens, and reproachfully called each other cowards. Cato was regarded as a great and eminent man. A decree of the senate was framed in accordance with his vote. Now, upon reading and hearing of the many glorious exploits, which the Roman people achieved in peace and war, by sea and land; it accidentally occurred to me to consider, what circumstance in particular could have maintained such mighty efforts. I was aware of their having frequently opposed, with a small force, numerous legions of the enemy; I knew that wars had been waged, with limited means, against wealthy kings; that they had also sustained the rigour of misfortune; that the Greeks in eloquence, and the Gauls in military renown, surpassed the Romans; and after mature reflection, it became evident to me, that the singular heroism of a few citizens had accomplished all; and hence it resulted that poverty overcame wealth, and deficiency of numbers a multitude; but, after the community was depraved by sensuality and indolence, the republic in its turn could tolerate, by its greatness, the excesses of military and civil officers; and, as if its productive power were exhausted by the long dissensions of former generations, no man really eminent for his merit appeared in Rome. Within my own recollection, however, there were two men of opposite characters, Marcus Cato and Caius Cæsar, whom, as the occasion has brought under notice, it has not been my wish to pass unobserved; but to illustrate, with what ability I may, the disposition and principles of both.

54. Of these men, then, the birth, age, and eloquence were nearly alike: their power of mind equal; their reputation also; but different in each. Cæsar was esteemed great for his kindness and generosity; Cato for the purity of his life. The former acquired distinction by lenity and mercy; his austerity conferred dignity on the other. Cæsar attained eminence by bestowing, helping, and forgiving; Cato, by yielding nothing. In the one, the unfortunate found a refuge; in the other, the guilty met destruction. The placability of the one, and the firmness of the other, was admired. In short, Cæsar had formed the resolution of being active and vigilant; of overlooking his own interests, while devoted to his friends; of withholding nothing that may be worth bestowing; his

earnest desire was for a new war, where his abilities might shine out. But Cato's ambition was that of self-denial, high principle, and, most of all, austerity. He would rival, not the rich man in wealth, nor the seditious in party-spirit; but the active in energy, the temperate in moderation, the disinterested in honesty. He preferred the reality to the affectation of virtue; and so, the less he courted greatness, the more it attended him.

55. When the senate, as I have stated, voted on a division for the motion of Cato, the consul, deeming it his best course to anticipate the coming night, lest any further attempt may be made during that interval, ordered the *triumviri* to make such preparations as the execution required. Having stationed guards, he led Lentulus with his own hand into the prison; the same was done for the others by the prætors. There is in the prison, a place called the Tullianum, descending into the ground about twelve feet, after you go up a short way to the left. Walls enclose it on all sides, and a ceiling, joined with stone arches, covers it; but from neglect, darkness, and malaria, its aspect is gloomy and frightful. When Lentulus was let down into this place, the officers entrusted with the duty strangled him with a rope. Thus, that patrician of the illustrious family of the Cornelli, who had enjoyed the consular dignity at Rome, met a death suitable to his character and conduct.

56. While this was taking place in Rome, Catiline made up two legions out of all the numbers which he had brought and Manlius already had. He filled his cohorts as far as his numbers served; and then, as every recruit or conspirator arrived in the camp, he distributed them evenly; and, in a short time, made up his legions with the full number; while at first he had not more than two thousand men. But of all his force, about one-fourth were furnished with military equipments; the rest, as chance supplied each with arms, carried javelins, or lances, and some pointed staves. But, when Antony was approaching with his army, Catiline took his course through the mountains; and moved his camp, now toward the city, and again, in the direction of Gaul; and afforded the enemy no opportunity of engaging. He was expecting to have, in a short time, a numerous force, if his accomplices at Rome could have succeeded in their purpose.

In the mean time, he was refusing the assistance of slaves, great numbers of whom were congregating to him, from a confidence in the resources of the conspiracy, and because he considered it inconsistent with his views to associate the cause of citizens with runaway slaves.

57. But, when intelligence arrived in the camp, that the conspiracy was discovered at Rome, and that punishment was inflicted on Lentulus, Cethegus, and the others whom I have mentioned above, the greater number, whom the hope of plunder, or love of change had attracted, gradually dispersed; the remainder Catiline led by forced marches, over rocky mountains, into the Pistorian district, with the intention of escaping secretly into Gaul through the by-roads. Q. Metellus Celer, however, was stationed in the Picene district with three legions, suspecting that Catiline, from the perplexities of his position, was adopting precisely these measures. Accordingly, when he ascertained his route from the deserters, he hastily moved his camp, and took his station at the foot of the mountain, where he found a pass. Antony, however, was not far behind; considering that, although with a numerous army, he was still pursuing, on more level ground, the others who were unencumbered for flight. But, when Catiline found himself intercepted by the mountains and the enemies' forces; that circumstances were untoward in the city; and that he had no prospect of escape or defence; deeming it best, in such a position, to try the chances of war, he resolved to engage with Antony as soon as possible; and therefore summoning an assembly, delivered an address of the following tendency:

58. "I am fully aware, soldiers, that words do not impart valour; and that an army is never roused to activity from indolence, or to resolution from cowardice. by the speech of a leader. Whatever amount of intrepidity, by nature or from habit, dwells in the mind of every man, usually shows itself, so far, in war. You will in vain encourage a man whom neither glory nor danger animates. The terror of his soul closes his ears. Still, I have called you together, to advise you briefly, and, at the same time, to explain the motive of my present step. You know, of course, soldiers, what injury the negligence and timidity of Lentulus has brought upon himself and us; and how, in addition to my still waiting for a re-

inforcement from the city, I have been unable even to pass into Gaul. You all understand, as well as I, the present position of our affairs: two armies of the enemy intercept us; one, on the side of the city; the other, on that of Gaul: the want of provisions and other supplies prevents our remaining longer in this neighbourhood, however much our inclinations may prompt us: in whatever direction we mean to proceed, our way must be cleared by the sword. Wherefore, I warn you to bear fearless and determined hearts; and when you do engage, remember that you carry in your right hands wealth, honour, and renown; your freedom, too, and your country. If we succeed, all shall be secure; an abundance of provisions, and access to the colonies and free towns. But, should we yield in terror, these very advantages will turn against us. Neither place nor friend will protect the man to whom his arms shall not have ensured protection. In addition to this, soldiers, the same pressure of circumstances lies not upon us and them. We are fighting for our country, our freedom, and our lives: to contend for the ascendancy of the oligarchy, is with them a gratuitous act. We might, with the utmost ignominy, spend our lives in exile. Some of you, after the loss of your properties, might await the assistance of others. Because such a condition seemed degrading and insupportable to men, you have resolved to choose this. If you would free yourselves from this choice, you need resolution. No man, except by a victory, can change war to peace; because, to hope for safety in flight, after you avert from the enemy those arms by which your person is defended—that indeed is madness. In battle, their danger is greatest who fear most. The possession of courage is like a rampart. When I contemplate you, soldiers, and reflect upon your deeds, a sanguine hope of victory animates me. Your spirit, age, and valour encourage me; and besides, desperation, which emboldens even the coward. But, should Fortune prove jealous of your valour, take care that you lose not your lives tamely; and that you be not, when prisoners, butchered like cattle, rather than leave to your enemies a life-bought and sorrowful victory."

59. When he had spoken thus, after a brief delay, he ordered the trumpets to be sounded, and brought down his troops in battle line to the level ground. Then, having removed from all their horses, in order that, by assimilating the

danger, the spirit of the soldiers may be more elevated, he marshalled his army, in person and on foot, suitably to the ground and his numbers. For, as a plain lay between the mountains on the west, and a rocky eminence on the east, he stationed eight cohorts in front; the remaining cohorts he placed in closer order, as a reserve. Of these he brought up to the van all the chosen and veteran centurions; and all the best men, who were armed, of the private soldiers. He ordered C. Manlius to command on the left wing; and an officer from Fæsulæ on the right. He took his own position, with the freedmen and natives of colonies, by the eagle, which Caius Marius is said to have had in his army, during the Cimbric war. But, on the other side, C. Antonius delegated the command of the army to M. Petreius, his lieutenant; because, in consequence of his lameness, he could not be present in the field. He stationed in the van the veteran cohorts, which he had levied on the occasion of the insurrection; and behind them the rest of the army in reserve. Riding among them himself, he addressed them severally by name, encouraged and entreated them to remember that they were fighting against unarmed rebels, for their country, their children, their religion, and homes. Being a man of military experience—as he had for more than thirty years held the rank of tribune, captain of the allies, lieutenant-prætor, or prætor, with a high reputation among the troops—he knew most of them personally, and their deeds of valour; and, by recounting these, he kindled the spirit of the soldiers.

60. But when Petreius, after observing all the circumstances, gave the signal with the trumpets, he ordered the cohorts to advance slowly. The army of the enemy made the same movement. When they arrived at that point where the action might be commenced by the light-armed companies, they charged with the wildest shouts and confronting standards. They cast aside their javelins, and the encounter proceeded sword in hand. The veterans, recalling the valour of other days, advanced vigorously to a closing fight. The others resolutely resisted. The strife was maintained with the utmost impetuosity. In the mean time, Catiline was occupied among the light troops in the van; assisted the overpowered; brought up the fresh instead of the wounded; took every precaution; fought desperately with his own hand, and often dis-

abled an enemy. He discharged the duties of a valiant soldier and a skilful commander. When Petreius, contrary to his anticipation, saw Catiline exert himself with a powerful energy, he brought up his Prætorian cohort against the main body of the enemy; these, now in disorder, and offering a partial resistance at different points, he cut down; and then charged the rest on both flanks. Manlius and the Fæsulan fell fighting, among the first. When Catiline found his forces dispersed, and himself surviving with a few, remembering his noble birth and former station, he rushed into the thickest of the enemy, and fighting there, was slain.

61. But when the battle was over, then especially might one perceive what resolution and obstinacy of will pervaded Catiline's army; for the spot on which each had stood during the fight, the same, when life was lost, he covered with his body. A few, however, whom the Prætorian cohort had displaced from the main body, fell rather more irregularly; but all with wounds in front. Catiline, however, was found far from his own men, among the bodies of the enemy, still breathing faintly, and retaining in his countenance the same haughty expression which he had borne during life. In short, out of the whole number, no free citizen became a prisoner either in the flight or the battle; so equally had all di-regarded their own and their enemies' lives. Nor yet had the army of the Roman people gained a joyful or bloodless victory; for every most valiant man had either fallen in battle or retired dangerously wounded. Many, again, who had issued from the camp through curiosity or for plunder, while turning over the bodies of the enemy, discovered some a friend, some an acquaintance or relative; some, too, there were who recognised an enemy; and thus, exultation and sorrow, grief and joy, in various forms, were manifested through the whole army.

CATALOGUE OF KEYS to the CLASSICS.

SPECIMENS OF KELLY'S KEYS TO THE CLASSICS. For List see Pages

From CÆSAR'S GALLIC WAR. Book I.

All Gaul is divided into three parts, of which the Belgæ inhabit one, the Aquitani another; those who in their own language are called Celtae, in ours, Gauls, a third.

From THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON. Book I. Chapter I.

1. Of Darius and Parysatis are born two sons; the elder, indeed, Artaxerxes, but the younger Cyrus. But when Darius was becoming infirm and suspected the end of his life, he wished that both

2 to 8

CORNISH'S INTERLINEAR KEYS TO THE CLASSICS.

Translated the text in one line, and the English words underneath. Specimen of Cornish's Interlinear Keys.

From HORACE. Book III. Ode XXX.

I have reared a monument more enduring than brass, and loftier than
Exegi monumentum perennius ære, altiusque
regal structure of the Pyramids, which neither the corroding
regali situ Pyramidum quod non cedit
showder, nor the tempestuous north-wind, or the countless succession
imber, non impotens Aquilo, aut innumerabilis series
of years and the flight of seasons shall be able to destroy.
annorum et fulga temporum possit diruere.

9

SPECIMEN OF DR. GILES'S KEYS TO THE CLASSICS.

From VIRGIL'S ÆNEID, Books I.—IV.

Cano I sing arma arins virumque and the man qui primus
first, profugus a wanderer fato by fate venit came ab oris from the
shores Troje of Troy Italiam to Italy Laviniaque littora and the
Lavinian shores: ille he multum tactatus (was) much tossed about
et both terris on the land et and alio on the deep vi by the power
superum of the (Gods) above, ob iram memorem on account of the
lasting anger sæve Junonis of cruel Juno.

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Thee too, mighty Pales, and thee, shepherd from Amphryso worthy-

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All Gaul is divided into three parts, of which the Belgæ inhabit one, the Aquitani another; those who in their own language are called Celtæ, in ours, Gauls, a third. All these differ among themselves in language, institutions, laws.

From THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON. Book I.
Chapter I.

1. Of Darius and Parysatis are born two sons; the elder, indeed, Artaxerxes, but the younger Cyrus. But when Darius was becoming infirm and suspected the end of his life, he wished that both his sons should be present with him.

From THE ÆNEID OF VIRGIL. Book I.

1. I sing arms, and the man who, exiled by Fate from Troy's shores, first came to Italy and the Lavinian coast. Long was he driven over land and sea, by the influence of heaven, for cruel Juno's unforgiving wrath. Sorely in war, too, was he afflicted, while founding a city, and establishing his gods in Latium, whence came the Latin people, the Alban elders, and the walls of imperial Rome. Recount for me, my Muse, the causes: what deity outraged; or, how aggrieved, the Queen of Heaven doomed a hero, eminent for tenderness, to encounter so many adventures, to undergo so many hardships. Lives there such anger in immortal spirits!

From LIVY. Book I.

1. Now, first of all, it is a sufficiently established fact [*satis constat. lit.* it is sufficiently evident,] that, after the capture of Troy, great cruelty was practised against all the other Trojans; that the Greeks refrained from exercising the full right of war against two, Æneas and Antenor, both on account of a tie of long established hospitality, and because these had been always advocates for peace, and the restoration of Helen;—afterwards with fortunes differing from one another, that Antenor, with a large body of Hænetians, who, in an insurrection driven out of Paphlagonia, were in search of a settlement and a leader, having lost at Troy their king Polydamas, arrived at the innermost bay of the Adriatic Sea.

From CICERO DE AMICITIA.

1. Q. Mucius, the augur, used to relate a number of anecdotes concerning his father-in-law, C. Lælius, from memory, and in a pleasant vein, and not to hesitate in giving him the appellation of *wise* throughout his whole discourse. Moreover, I myself had been introduced to Scævola, by my father, in such a way, that as far as I was able and was permitted, I never left the old man's side. Accordingly, I committed to memory many of his sage disquisitions, many, too, of his short and pointed apothegms, and I made it my study to extend my information by this wisdom.

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Cano I sing *arma* arms *virumque* and the man *qui* who *primus* first, *profugus* a wanderer *fato* by fate *venit* came *ab oris* from the shores *Trojae* of Troy *Italiam* to Italy *Laviniaeque littora* and the Lavinian shores: *ille* he *multum* *factatus* (was) much tossed about *et both terris* on the land *et alto* on the deep *vi* by the power *superum* of the (Gods) above, *ob iram* *memorem* on account of the lasting anger *sæve Junonis* of cruel Juno.

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